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ABSTRACT

Curriculum and instructional development approaches that are designed to promote scholarship on women are described in 22 articles. The articles, which are based on the Women's Scholarship Project at the University of North Dakota, concern: career planning, women's studies courses, professional studies, research, and the theoretical applications of women's scholarship. The following are among the articles presented: "What Can Be Done to Aid a Woman in Her Career Decision-Making Process" (Jole A. Williams); "Women and Mathematics" (David J. Uherka); "Some Milestones on the Road to Equal Employment Opportunities for Women" (W. Fred Lawrence); "The Issue of Sexism in Multicultural Education" (Janet Goldenstein Ahler); "Integrating Women's Issues into the Course 'Human Behavior in the Social Environment'" (Leola Furman); "Toward Equity in Nursing: The Role of Education" (Sandra L. Warner); "Women in Music Education: Some Perspectives and Prospects for Higher Education" (Barrie Wells); "Women in Society and Culture: An Anthropological Perspective. Resource Guide for Selected Topics and Materials" (Gretchen Chesley Lang); "(History) Politics and the Status of Women in Chile" (Barbara M. Shaver); "Women's Studies: Its Problem and Impact on the Campus and the Professional Associations" (D. N. Khactu). (SW)

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WOMEN'S SCHOLARSHIP
A CURRICULUM HANDBOOK

A Project for Curriculum Development in Women's Scholarship

Sponsored by

The University of North Dakota

Office of Instructional Development

Women's Equity Committee

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The Women's Scholarship Project

In 1980 the Women's Equity Committee, a Committee of the Vice President for Academic Affairs at the University of North Dakota, received money for curriculum and instructional development in the new scholarship on women through the University's Office of Instructional Development from a Bush Foundation grant. The Committee called for applications from the faculty among the many disciplines represented on the campus. Twenty applicants were selected to receive stipends for their participation in this project, representing the Colleges of Arts and Sciences, Fine Arts, Human Resources Development, Business and Public Administration, Engineering and Mines, Nursing, the Center for Teaching and Learning, and the School of Medicine. In addition to the selected participants, other faculty attended and participated without stipends.

Participants in the Women's Scholarship Project attended three workshops dealing with the new scholarship in the humanities, the natural sciences, and the social sciences, and with methods of integrating this scholarship into the traditional curricula of their various disciplines. Included in the workshops were lectures by and discussions with visiting scholars, films, instruction in methodology for research and curriculum development, applications for rural women, and a case study designed to introduce the concept of academic sexism: the distortion or exclusion of women's perspectives in teacher/student relationships, hiring and promotion, mock committee meetings, and role-playing.

The Women's Equity Project is one of seventeen such projects involved in integrating materials on women into the college curriculum in the United States this year. It grows out of a decade of Women's Studies scholarship in a number of academic disciplines which have begun to include women as subjects of serious study. Because traditional courses often omit or distort women's contributions to culture, the content of education itself seemed false and inaccurate. Gaps in regular course offerings began to emerge as Women's Studies scholars examined the syllabi and textbooks used in most schools: "Where are the women?" asked students of history and literature. "What are the women doing?" inquired political scientists and social demographers. The old query, "What do women want?" changed from Freudian joke to academic question to curricular concern.

By the early 1970s, teachers and scholars inspired by the women's movement organized Women's Studies courses and programs featuring new approaches to the search for knowledge. Since few traditional textbooks included women's experiences and perspectives, they wrote their own. Since little research had been done on women's lives, they built a body of data which could provide materials for the accumulation and reconstruction of women's culture. Since scant attention had been given to women as producers and disseminators of human knowledge, they created theories of women as a conceptually distinct group which could serve as the subjects of scholarly inquiry. From the outset, Women's Studies has had a transformative goal: the changing of materials and courses of study so that all phases of education, from kindergarten through graduate and professional schools, will properly reflect the lives and concerns of women.

Having grown from two known programs in 1968 to over 350 programs offering thousands of courses in 1981, Women's Studies is clearly a part of the American college curriculum. Its purpose is to integrate women's experiences and perspectives into all descriptions and analyses of human behavior, offering students a deeper understanding of humanity by expanding the purview of research and scholarship to include "the other half" of the human race. Its primary strategy has been to establish courses on women--heavily concentrated in the undergraduate curriculum--which either focus on particular disciplines or use an interdisciplinary approach to women's lives. In either case, the exposure to the new scholarship on women which Women's Studies students receive is both practical and humane. In a world where increasing numbers of women have entered the paid labor market and role expectations for both sexes are shifting, university graduates need exposure to the new scholarship on women. Women's Studies courses have helped colleges and universities prepare their students for life in the new world of two-career families, shared household labor, and more involved father-child relationships.

But what of those students who do not choose to enroll in Women's Studies courses? The traditional curriculum offers them little if any scholarly information on women. Instead, it has remained essentially male-centered, emphasizing public action, laws, wars, and those who have survived fairly well within the cultural system.

Incorporation of Women's Studies materials into the traditional curriculum has been slow, indirect, and usually accomplished when Women's Studies professors themselves integrate these materials into their non-Women's Studies courses.

A women's history specialist might include topics such as "Childbirth" and "Women's Legal Status" in a survey of American history. A professor of the anthropology of women could include Women, Culture, and Society among required readings for a seminar on cultural anthropology. But few professors outside of Women's Studies specialties incorporate the new research on women in their courses. It is still possible to take a college degree in any one of our universities and never learn that women create culture, or how their volunteer work in church and civic groups affects the economy or what forms of political action seem most congenial to women's lives. If the purpose of Women's Studies is to transform liberal education by integrating the female experience into all descriptions and analyses of human behavior, we must define strategies by which Women's Studies programs might affect the entire academy.

Concerned about the best ways to increase the numbers of students reached by Women's Studies courses and moved by the need to provide all students with an education that reflects the experiences of both sexes, Women's Studies scholars and teachers have begun a new movement to integrate Women's Studies into the traditional curriculum. This strategy has been called by a variety of names, most popularly "mainstreaming," but it has as its goal the reshaping of course content and curricular design. It should be distinguished from the compensatory approach to curriculum reform. "Add women and stir," is not enough and, in some cases, is misleading. A special unit on women's suffrage in a history or political science course which includes no other material on women may give students the erroneous impression that women are important only when they enter the public sphere. The "exceptional women"--those who leave the private sphere of home and children where most women spend their lives--are presented as worthies, while the majority of women are ignored because their actions are not public and are therefore not viewed as significant or political. Integrating women into the curriculum requires a whole new way of viewing and describing human activity, not just a supplementary gesture.

The new scholarship on women can transform the liberal education curriculum by giving shape and visibility to women's lives, past and present, and in almost every academic discipline. As Peggy McIntosh points out, "society has been held together by groups of people who are not distinguished by genius, public achievement, power, or cultural innovation, but who weave and maintain the social fabric, living out of the limelight except in times of violence and disruption. Some of the valuable work that such people have done

is the taking care of people and systems, and the maintaining of production and reproduction. . . . A thorough study of women also makes visible many men who were not previously featured in the curriculum. In fact, about nine-tenths of the world's population suddenly becomes visible when one takes the emphasis off the public lives of white Western men, who are seen as cultural leaders, and includes those who for reasons of sex, race, class, national or religious background, were defined as lower caste."

For example, an American history course would redefine key terms used to define "Jacksonian democracy" and "the frontier experience" to include women's experiences in nineteenth-century America. Students would see that these terms in reality describe the formation of American character when applied to white males. But women's options were not expanded during the Jacksonian period, and they gained more economic freedom in cities than in frontier towns. "Perhaps," writes historian Ann Lane, "the frontier symbol for American women ought to be the typewriter rather than the plow or mining implements," since "it was the growth of office work, office bureaucracies, that provided the avenues of upward mobility for American women." Women's arts--quilts, textiles and fabrics, clothing and meals--will be validated by women's language--the making of connections between people and the eliciting of information--will be explored. Women's moral development, says psychologist Carol Gilligan, may be defined as "a mode of growth that takes place within relationships and of connection based not on rules to regulate competition but rather on relationships that give rise to cooperation." The social fabric of everyday life can become the stuff of rigorous inquiry. "A whole new world has opened up to me," commented a college student after taking a history course which included the contributions of women to culture. "I didn't realize that women made any real difference in the world."

This collection of articles is the "product" of the UND Women's Scholarship project. Each participant prepared an essay describing research in Women's Studies, course revisions, essays describing problems in women's education, curriculum designs for integrating the new scholarship on women into the traditional classroom, or research applications of this new knowledge.

This Curriculum Handbook is for educators, not only at the University of North Dakota, or even in the State of North Dakota, but for anyone who will find it useful.

The editors and the members of the Women's Equity Committee wish to thank Dr. Alice T. Clark, Vice President for Academic Affairs, for her continual support in this and other projects; the Women's Equity Committee is a committee of the Office of the Vice President for Academic Affairs. We also wish to thank Dr. Robert Young, Director of the Office of Instructional Development, for his moral and financial support for this project and this publication. We are grateful to Deans Bernard O'Kelly, Bruce Jacobsen, Clair Rowe, Alan Fletcher, Karl Warden, Elisabeth Zinser, and Acting Dean Cecelia Traugh for their financial sponsorship. The Office of University Relations, the Word Processing Center, and the University of North Dakota Press deserve compliments for their assistance in the production of this publication.

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Women's scholarship is a useful tool for women in planning their careers, and it is equally helpful for women and men who work in advising or counseling of young women involved in the career decision process. Jole A. Williams examines how such information can enrich one's knowledge and provide a more solid basis for career decision-making in her essay, "What Can Be Done to Aid a Woman in Her Career Decision-Making Process."

WHAT CAN BE DONE TO AID A WOMAN IN HER CAREER DECISION MAKING PROCESS

Jole A. Williams

Historically, most of the research in the area of occupational choice has been in reference to males (Osipow, 1968; Barnett & Baruch, 1976; Zuckerman, 1976; and Davis, Gaa & Baptiste, 1980). One might hope that bias is being rectified. When females have been studied, it has been consistently shown that there are sex differences in career interests and aspirations.

What are the Differences Between Sexes in Career Interests and Aspirations?

Two of the major differences between sexes in terms of career interests and aspirations that have been noted are: first, females seem less oriented to careers (other than homemaking) than do males. Even females who consider careers seem to feel that marriage and child-rearing may be incompatible with a career (Rossi, 1965). According to Astin (1974b) women who anticipate a conflict between the homemaking role and a career are likely to forego the career. Even women at the highest level of intelligence have not pursued careers at the same rate as their male counterparts. Of the women in Terman's gifted population, less than half had a career, and for most of them their career was secondary to their homemaking role (Sears & Barbee, 1977).

Sex differences in career interests and aspirations are found among the academically gifted as early as grade seven. Even gifted girls who are oriented toward careers are less likely than boys of similar ability to be interested in careers of a scientific or mathematical nature; they are more likely than the boys to aspire to careers of a social or artistic nature (Fox & Denham, 1974; Fox, Paternak, & Peiser, 1976).

The differences in career interests may result from the fact that the underlying values of women are somewhat different from those of men. Theoretical value orientations have been shown to be significantly related to creative achievement in mathematics (Mackinnon, 1962). On the Allport-Vernon-Lindzey Study of Values, the majority of women in any

sample tend to score higher on measures of social values and lower on theoretical values and this is true of gifted girls as well (Fox, 1978). Gifted seventh grade boys generally score high on theoretical values and therefore have a well-developed interest and value pattern consistent with academic pursuits in science and mathematics and with their own high aptitude in those areas (Tobin & Fox, 1980).

Second, females appear to be far more limited in the scope of their occupational choices than are males. This difference emerges early; elementary school boys select two to three times as many occupations as girls. The majority of girls choose to be teachers or nurses (Looft, 1971; Hall, 1977; Siegal, 1973). Among high school students, girls continue to be more restrictive; as a frequent choice, secretary is added to the list of earlier acceptable occupations (Barnett & Baruch, 1976; Berman, 1972; Douvan & Adelson, 1966; Marini & Greenberger, 1978).

Women seem to be less aware that because of recent technological changes, careers that in the past did not require mathematical expertise now require more sophisticated knowledge of mathematics. Thus, high-level careers in business, nursing, education, and the social sciences sometimes require a knowledge of mathematics beyond the required mathematics taught in high school (Fox, 1977; Fox, Tobin & Brody, 1979). Almost all career objectives today undoubtedly involve some mathematics (Peterson & Peterson, 1975) yet, women appear to be unaware of all the career areas that require this talent.

Females' aspirations tend to be clustered in the middle of the white collar range of the social standing of occupations. Prestige level, the social standing of occupations, has long been utilized as a difference measurement in studies of occupational choice. It appears that the reason girls' aspirations tend to be clustered in the middle of the white-collar range is that girls are not so likely to aspire to either the highest or the lowest prestige occupations (Davis, Gaa & Baptise, 1980).

Why Do These Sex Differences in Career Interests and Aspirations Exist?

In contemporary American society, considerable discussion and ferment characterize the issue of male and female sex roles. A number of writers have contributed to the study of differences in male and female socialization and the consequent effects on personality development. Douvan and Adelson's research (1966) indicates that the identity

development of adolescent boys was organized around the central issue of their occupational future; whereas girls' identity development was seen as focused on the feminine role of which occupational plans were simply an expression.

Bardwick and Douvan (1971) have commented on the cultural pressures affecting young women in their role development which lead to difficulties in establishing an unambivalent orientation toward future roles. Society encourages young women to make use of their talent and energy in the world of work while continuing to stress the importance of the more traditional feminine role activities.

The difficulties encountered by young women attempting to make future plans has been discussed by Patterson (1973). It is clear that here is a certain amount of discontinuity, or incompatibility in the dual occupational and traditional feminine role development of young women. Concern with future goals of marriage and family is not incompatible with occupational role development for most young men. Although young women no longer see marriage and family responsibilities as excluding involvement in an occupation, the two aspects of female role development exist in somewhat uneasy alliance (Richardson, 1974).

What Do These Differences Mean in Terms of Career Counseling for the Individual Woman?

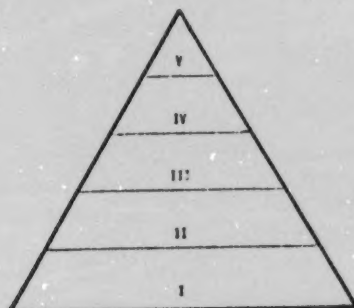
The previous discussion has dealt with women in general. While the global view of women is important and of interest, the more immediate concern of the career counselor is often the individual client.

Clients come to career counseling at all stages of career development. Contrary to the belief of some people, chronological age does not necessarily imbue the individual with wisdom, insight, and a clear idea of what she wants to do with her life. At one time it was thought, for career counseling to be most effective, the individual client had to have previously decided, prior to the counseling session, what she most wanted to do. The limitations of that sort of approach are legion. It excludes from counseling countless women--the very ones who most need the help. Prior decisions, without the examination of the existing panoply of career information and personal information leaves women where they've been for centuries--floundering--unsure of what they personally can do, where they can do it, and how they can go about implementing their personal plans.

What Can Be Done To Aid a Woman in Her Career Decision Making Process?

Time is a precious commodity for counselors and clients alike. A process of career decision making could conceivably be very effective but be impractical because of time constraints. I am suggesting the implementation of a time saving approach to career counseling for women that was first developed by Brauchle (1979). It is a means of identifying the needs of the individual by identifying her level of career development.

Picture a triangle that has three equal sides. Within that simple triangle there are five horizontal divisions. Each division is represented by a keyword that embodies the contribution of that level. Starting at the base of the triangle is Level I--Characteristics, Level II--Skills, Level III--What, Level IV--Where, and Level V--How. The bare bones of the triangle (hereafter referred to as the Trine) look like this:



The Trine has a broad, stable base. Brauchle's experiences and my experiences with counseling pointed to the need for a broad base of information on which to build. I see this as critical for a woman to amass some personal knowledge about herself. For a woman to know about herself, she needs to examine her values, abilities, aptitudes, and characteristics in general to be able to make any intelligent choices.

Then after a woman knew about her characteristics, it seemed logical that she needed to identify and examine the skills she had at her command. After the skills were identified, it seemed likely that she needed to know what people, especially men, did who had those kinds of skills, and then where they did it. Where encompasses more than one concept; it includes "where" she could get information about "what" and perhaps where she could get a job or

training. And after all the exploration, the biggest challenge had to be addressed. The individual female needs to know how to go about obtaining employment.

For the Trine to lend the necessary guidance and therefore, stability, it seems logical to start building from the bottom and work up to the pinnacle, or top of the triangle to reach the individual woman's goal--whatever it might be--a job, a major, a career, a school, or a source of training.

How Can This Process be Custom-tailored for the Individual Woman?

If this process is to be truly time-efficient then it is important to start at the place the client has reached in her career development. It is possible to judge the individual level by asking: "What brings you here today and how can I help you?" The reply gives a clue to the level of career development at which they are operating. For example, a client says, "I want to start interviewing for a job." My point of departure is then at the top level of the Trine within the "How," unless I find out differently through discussion with the client. I can always start at the bottom level of the Trine with "Characteristics" if I find that to be necessary. But that could waste a lot of time for everybody. She may have been aware of what skills she had. She may have known what she wanted to do. All she needed to learn from me was how to get the job.

The efficient thing to do appears to be to reverse the process, i.e., move backward from the "How" level until the appropriate departure place is found. Then when a client asks, "How do I get a job?" my first question would be: "What do you know about writing resumes?" Or "What do you know about the interviewing process?" If I receive "I don't know" answers to most of these questions, then I know to move backward down the Trine even further.

What Potential Contributions Can the Trine Make to the Career Decision Making Process of a Woman?

First, the Trine is itself a visual presentation. It takes a developmental process and places it in a conceptual framework. It has been my experience that it is far easier to talk to someone about a concept, if you can relate it to something tangible that they can see. When I work with someone who is beginning her career decision making process and needs to start with the basics--her own characteristics--

it is helpful for her to see where that fits within the "big picture." Also, as I explain what actually makes up each level that is simply represented by one key word, I place the individual components visually within the level. Career decision making is done by the client. It is imperative that she understand the information that is being presented.

Second, the Trine is a means of identifying the needs of the individual by identifying her level of career development. Not only is the level identified but areas of question and concern are recognized and discussed. For example, one of the marked differences between males and females is that, in general, females are less oriented to careers than males. The reasons for this are varied, personal, as well as cultural. In making an appropriate decision a female who is concerned about the dual role of career woman and homemaker needs to recognize this approach-avoidance area within herself and deal with it. The Trine encompasses the needs of the whole individual, psychological as well as educational, or informational.

Third, and finally, the most critical contribution this concept can offer to a woman--it allows her to see what sources, alternatives, and options are available to her. A major difference between sexes in career interests and aspirations, noted previously, is that females are more limited in the scope of occupational choices than males. This limitation has two component parts. First, females generally have less areas that they choose their careers from than do males. And second, females generally have a lack of current information often regarding requirements for work in certain areas. These deficits can be removed by utilizing the levels of the Trine. Within each level is the necessary information to make a personally intelligent and well-informed choice.

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General academic applications of women's scholarship are one way in which this new knowledge can be integrated into traditional fields of classroom study to enhance and enrich the curriculum. Alice K. Owen, David J. Uherka, and John D. Williams suggest some ways in which this can be accomplished within the sciences in the three areas of their specialties: the sciences, mathematics, and statistics.

INSTRUCTIONAL DEVELOPMENT FOR WOMEN IN THE SCIENCES

A. K. Owen

Introduction

The role of universities in promoting scholarship and professional training for women is a complex one. The three workshops held this spring at UND featured speakers who dealt with widely varying aspects of this problem. Although I learned a great deal from each session, I would like to use three concepts that seemed most applicable to science, since I am a biologist.

Catharine Stimpson dealt with Women's Studies per se, its intellectual basis, its relationship to the feminist movement, how "masculine" and "feminine" traits are perceived in our society and the way such perceptions inhibit individual behavior. In discussing the origin and persistence of the inequality of relationships between the sexes, Stimpson mentioned two schools of thought regarding how much men and women actually differ and the significance of this difference to scholarly learning and behavior. So-called maximalists emphasize these differences, claiming, with Freud, that "anatomy is destiny." Minimalists regard these differences as primarily culturally and socially conditioned, stressing that most individuals combine masculine and feminine traits to some degree (androgyny).

Carl Tomizuka dealt with a more specific aspect of women's scholarship, namely, their poor representation in science, particularly those sciences utilizing higher mathematics. He stressed some of the reasons for the inadequate mathematics training among women, the way this lack of training restricts their subsequent advancement, and how this deficiency might be overcome. Tomizuka's workshop was thus a look at one aspect of the maximalist-minimalist question.

Marcia Westkott, who critiqued social studies about women, especially emphasized the need for social scientists not only to treat women as objects of study, but to use information obtained from such studies to take action to correct unfavorable or discriminatory treatment of women. Describing Women's Studies courses, she explained how her

students analyze the current status of women, speculate where they should be under ideal conditions and design possible strategies for attaining such an improved status.

I propose to make use of this format in dealing with women's scholarship in the sciences, emphasizing the status of women in academe, partly because that is where I work, but primarily because most women at the Ph.D. level find themselves in institutions of higher learning rather than in business or industry.

Where We Are (And Why)

Between 1920 and 1977, the percentage of doctorates awarded to women in life sciences averages 13.9%.¹ There was not, however, a steady increase during that time. The percentage from 1920-1940 ran a bit over 15%, down to 11% between 1940-1970, and only in the last decade reaching 17%.

Women Ph.D.s lag behind men in promotion, pay (within ranks), appointments to prestigious institutions. More are employed in colleges and one-year junior colleges than universities; they have more teaching responsibilities, less research time and research facilities available. They are less apt to become administrators. They experience more unemployment, have more part-time employment, or serve in positions not commensurate with their education.² Numbers, statistical breakdowns, years, disciplines vary, depending on what experts are consulted, but they amount to the same thing; women are under-represented at the upper levels of nearly all scientific disciplines.

Under-representation is not necessarily equivalent to discrimination, however. Arguments as to the cause(s) of this under-representation center around three possibilities: discrimination, physiology, and socialization.³

Is it discrimination? Overt or covert discrimination,⁴ which is easy to claim, is hard to demonstrate.⁵ Overt discrimination, which I experienced only twice, and that many years ago, is now rarely observed. Covert discrimination would seem to be still with us and is of two types.⁵ One is a form of deliberate discrimination which is hidden, i.e., not expressed in any formal record, but intentional all the same. I experienced it once, but obviously cannot prove it. Its incidence is low and hopefully declining.

The more critical and insidious covert discrimination occurs on an unconscious level. Essentially social and

cultural in nature, it is perpetuated by the fact that women's place within the academic community is still defined by selections and judgments made by administrators and senior faculty who are almost entirely male. It may differ in form and expression, but the fact remains that when any one person must make a selective judgment about another (admit Jane Doe to the doctoral program, hire or promote Janet Smith), what Frieze calls attribution can occur, that is, certain characteristics thought to be possessed by a class of persons are attributed to the individual.⁷ "Women aren't as dedicated to their careers as men." "She'll just quit to get married and raise a family." "She won't be able to master the math." "Women are too emotional and not aggressive enough to make good administrators."⁸ The fact that Jane or Janet do not necessarily fit any such stereotypic categories tends to be overlooked.

Women form a very visible class of individuals, and as long as men make decisions based on such attributions, women are likely to suffer in two ways; first in the original selection process and second in the negative feedback effect that inevitably is set up.⁹ Performance of an individual is to a certain extent directly related to what is expected of him or her; thus, a male senior researcher may drive a male graduate student harder, expect more and longer hours or work, talk of appointment to a large university, while the female student, who may need the encouragement even more than her male colleague, is not subject to the same pressure.

A second explanation for the unequal representation of women in science is based on the theory that women are not well suited for successful mastery of scientific disciplines, that genetic and hormonal effects on the maturation of the brain lead to differences in learning and behavior and make women less able to excel in such "masculine" endeavors. How much actual difference exists is open to question,¹⁰ as well as how it affects learning and behavior. The human species is obviously sexually dimorphic, but not extremely so, i.e., there are noticeable anatomical differences between the human sexes, but not like those in the Bonellia, for example, a marine worm in which the male is parasitic on the female. Or in elks. Or peacocks. But how much of this dimorphism affects the brain and in what way? Human behavior is so complex that to distinguish between genetically programmed differences between the sexes and culturally expressed differences is difficult and may be impossible. Maccoby and Jacklin, for example, found very little difference between the sexes in intellectual abilities and cognitive styles during childhood.¹¹ Gilman reports that the only reasonably well documented differences show males as more aggressive,

better in spatial-visual concepts, and brain lateralization.¹² Women excel in verbal skill and perhaps intuitive reasoning, possibly because they can more readily use both cerebral hemispheres simultaneously.

The difficulty in measuring biological vs. cultural determinism is exemplified in the math anxiety question. Benbow and Stanley in a widely publicized paper claim that males consistently perform better in mathematical reasoning ability in the seventh and eighth grades and suggest that their better spatial-visual ability may be a factor.¹³ This is hotly disputed, both as to the design of the experiment and the conclusions that can be drawn from it to which Benbow and Stanley give reply.¹⁴ Obviously here, social and cultural factors blend with any possible innate differences.

Math teaching also seemed to me to be aimed more at males than females, especially in story problems, the bete noire of so many female students. It is (or was) always the speed of trains or cars or measuring sizes of fields or heights of buildings. How about measuring for carpeting or drapes, and computing the cost thereof, or adapting a recipe for six to feed twenty people? Diluting a baby's formula? If detergent cost either \$6.66 a gallon or \$3.42 for 28 ounces, which is the better buy?

Last of all and possibly most importantly, the poor representation of women among scientists seems to be a matter of self-selection (Feldman's "socialization"). According to Cole, while women make up 40% of persons obtaining baccalaureate degrees, only 30% of Master's degrees are received by women, who earned only 11% of the doctorates in 1960.¹⁵

Women tend to evaluate themselves at a lower level than men.¹⁶ Even successful women often attribute their success to "luck," or being in the right place at the right time. This may be partly true; it is also true for men, but they don't ascribe their success to it very often. Crediting one's success to luck is not much of an inspiration for young women aspiring to scientific achievement; what if luck doesn't run their way? Success is most satisfying if attributed to ability and hard work.

On the other hand, women often ascribe failure to lack of ability or insufficient effort, while men say their failures are "bad luck." These attitudes may lead a woman to give up on her career ambitions more readily. They do drop out of graduate programs more than men, even though women graduate students at the Ph.D. level consistently

outperform men in test scores of every sort.¹⁷

Women experience problems in combining a family and career almost unknown to men. First, if she marries, where will she work? If no perfect spot opens up for both her and her husband, she will almost certainly wind up trying to accommodate herself to finding something where his position is (this situation may be changing).

If she has a family, she can either drop out temporarily with all the subsequent complications--outdated skills and training, loss of position, advancement, prestige. Or she can combine family and career, which sounds like an exciting challenge, but assuredly is experienced very differently by the family members involved (Superwomen types notwithstanding), and the stress upon her is very great.

Women scientists are less likely to marry than their male colleagues, thus solving the above problems, but involving a type of sacrifice men do not, and need not make.

Where Should We Be?

It would be easy to say that women and men should be equally represented on all science faculties. Manifestly, there is not the slightest evidence that men and women would ever be attracted in equal numbers to every branch of science. Even the most ardent minimalist would concede the probability of differing interests and aptitudes of both sexes even though no one knows what they are.

To begin with, on a more practical basis, I would like to see the number of women on science faculties commensurate with the numbers of women in the student population in that field. This really should be true with reference to graduate students almost immediately. I am continually disturbed by departments which grant women graduate degrees when they either have no women or only a token woman on their own faculty. Where do they expect their own female graduates to obtain employment?

Eventually, the sex ratios of the faculty should match that of the undergraduates in any given field. Even this would not actually move women into disciplines now mostly male, but I would anticipate a "radiation" effect could eventually carry more and more women into some of the sciences where their representation is especially poor.

Women often suffer in ranking, salary, and recognition

because of their dual role of housewife and scientist. University systems should take such factors into account in their hiring and promotion, so that women would have available various work options, depending on their individual capacities. More universities are adapting to variations in the standard employment sequence for faculty, both men and women, an encouraging sign.

How To Get There From Here

How can the participation of women in the sciences be increased? There would seem to be several lines of approach-- legal, social or cultural, and scholarly, not necessarily in that order:

Legal Redress (read affirmative action). In some cases it may be the only remedy that will apply. Lester reflects the views of many who fear that current affirmative action programs may sound the death knell to excellence in university scholarship, but he seems also to recognize that university hiring and promotion policies perhaps need a certain amount of legal encouragement to get them to include more women.¹⁸ His main argument against current affirmative action programs bears on the methods used. He does, by the way, emphasize quite rightly the need to start much earlier in the day, so to speak, to get women into positions where they can be trained for high level university posts. Which leads us to:

Social Changes. Much of the disparity in representation of women in higher education is, as has been noted, due to covert discrimination combined with a process of self-selection by women out of the sciences. Women must be conditioned early to regard any and all fields of study to be open to them. Cole says, "In the final analysis, the real battle for improving the situation for women in science will be fought out before women ever reach the borders of the scientific community."¹⁹

Society in general and the academic community as well need constant reminding of what discrimination against women is and the cost to both women and society. The progress made in recent years is encouraging, but cannot be taken for granted. For example, the University of North Dakota Biology Department had four women on the faculty in 1972 (one part-time), none last year, back to one for this coming year, and a great deal of the problem is due to the lack of women qualified for academic positions in science.

Science departments should be increasingly aware of the need for women on the faculty to enable them to serve as role models. In fact, Smith suggests that this be one of the criteria specifically used when hiring faculty in science departments.²⁰ There should be sufficiency of such role models that young women aspiring to scientific careers can make value judgments regarding the life styles open to them in the future. Cole questions the need for female role models, but most writers emphasize their importance.²¹ I had several such role models--a high school math instructor (I do not have math anxiety), a chemistry instructor in college, and a biology instructor, who also encouraged me to enter graduate studies, something I would not have done otherwise.

In addition to its hiring policies, the university can use a scholarly approach. There is a need to increase the number of women entering science, to retain qualified women in advanced study programs and, since so many women do interrupt their careers for family reasons, to ease the reentry of those women who wish to return.

The university could make three changes which could advance the progress of women in science: (1) provide specific courses in its curriculum for women; (2) promote workshops and conferences for women; and (3) instructors could incorporate into science courses in the current curriculum some methods of instruction designed to increase the confidence of their students in their own abilities. Specific courses in Women's Studies--women in history, women in government, women and society--plus courses in feminist theory, would give interested women a better understanding perhaps of what lies ahead of them and how to negotiate certain pitfalls. These courses would broaden perspectives and heighten understanding of women's lives and their experiences in the culture.

Tomizuka discussed remedial math courses for women. Although they may have avoided math before, women should understand that deficiencies can certainly be remedied. Tobias reports on courses especially designed to deal with math anxiety, and has produced a film on math anxiety, relating the progress made by students under such special remedial training.²² If students in science (both men and women) have trouble with math concepts, even a short course might give them more confidence to enter regular college math courses that sound so intimidating. Such courses would have to be widely publicized and encouraged by counselors, since most young people either hesitate to admit to their fears or feel that their situation is hopeless.

Workshops and conferences sponsored by the university should also be used to recruit young women, both at the high school and college levels. In 1976, Dr. M. Behringer and I sought funds from NSF for a Science Career Workshop, designed to give freshman and sophomore girls from this area specific information regarding science careers, and bringing it outside women scientists as speakers. The project was not funded, but the concept is a useful one. Kreinberg describes, among other projects, an ongoing program at the Lawrence Hall of Science at the University of California, Berkeley, which brings in high school students for conferences on science careers.²³

One reason why women are poorly represented in science is that many of them--some 40%--take time off in their career, often to start a family, shouldering its subsequent household and child-rearing responsibilities. It is very important to encourage such women to reenter their field or to be retrained in related disciplines. Lantz describes a program set up by NSF designed to help such women with their reentry programs.²⁵ From 1976 to 1979, 21 grants to colleges and universities were made for programs designed to update and augment scientific training among women who held a bachelor's or master's degree at least 2 years old. The objective was to make them eligible to enter graduate school or obtain scientific employment directly. The outcomes varied widely, but the most successful programs showed the need for:

1. Funding and space
2. Coordinated interdisciplinary efforts
3. A sizeable pool of eligible women to draw from in the immediate area, along with enough publicity and lead time to recruit them
4. Counseling, internships, job placement, etc.

Such an extensive program probably could not be undertaken immediately at UND, but optional conferences for re-entering women could be held. After all, veterans get special attention; why not a woman who spent 10 years raising a family before returning to school?

Separate remedial courses might not always be needed. I teach introductory physiology laboratories to paramedical students, mostly female. The course hardly requires calculus, not even algebra. But I find that many students show considerable hesitation in using math as a tool. They also

are weak in their spatial and visual judgments. Later, many of these same students who are nursing majors take pharmacology, where at least one instructor has noticed students with similar math avoidance problems.

How much is a cc? How many ml in a liter? How long is 10 cm, by visual estimate? Can you estimate the size and weight of an object just by looking at it and lifting it? How do you calculate a percentage increase or decrease? The decimal point seems to float at random for them. One student interpreted a hemoglobin reading of 8 to mean the presence of 8 kg of hemoglobin in a cc of blood. Some of this is carelessness, but for nurses, a life may ride on a decimal point. I am hoping this year to place more stress on these concepts than I have before. It really isn't doing the students a favor to let them get away with sloppy mathematical concepts. And they surely can be taught.

I also have some women in this course nearly every year who are reentering their studies, RNs who are now working towards a B.S. in nursing or older women just starting out. They are most often excellent students, but might profit from extra attention and encouragement if nothing else. Their introductory courses may be years behind them; they occasionally feel isolated among their younger classmates; they often have family responsibilities that must be taken into account.

Summary

The cause of the current under-representation of women in the sciences, especially on the faculties of universities and colleges, is complex. Social and cultural attitudes about women entering a "masculine" profession inhibits women entering the sciences and produces a covert discrimination that reduces the number of women scientists to a few of the most tenacious.

The university can participate in overcoming this situation by promoting programs that increase the number of women entering the sciences and remaining there, as well as encouraging the reentry of women who have left their profession temporarily.

Workshops and conferences sponsored by the University will disseminate information about opportunities in the sciences to high school and freshmen women. Special courses designed to overcome the real or imagined difficulties women experience in science education or to aid reentry of women

scientists for further study could be offered. Efforts can be made in courses in the current curriculum to increase female students' confidence in mastering the sciences.

Most of all, women need the assurance that they, like men, will receive adequate reward and recognition for their abilities and training.

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WOMEN AND MATHEMATICS

David J. Uherka

Introduction

At the start of this project I wondered how I would write ten pages on this topic. Now I wonder how it can be kept under two hundred pages. During the three seminars at UND, it was shown that Women's Studies is already established as a bona fide field of research in which many well thought-out studies, of theoretical, statistical, and speculative natures, have already been completed. In this paper, I will take the viewpoint, suggested by Marcia Westcott in her presentation at UND, that rather than using Women's Studies simply as a means of generating data (and producing publications, reputations, and promotions), these studies should be directed toward removing the inequities and sex-biased practices that have built up throughout the centuries. I will, therefore, concentrate on the following items, briefly, concerning women and mathematics: How it was (the past), how it is (the present), how it should be (in the future), and how to change it (from how it is). The last section, How to Change It, will include a discussion of what is planned or should be planned concerning women and mathematics at UND. References given in parenthesis, for example (Bell, 1937), refer to the list at the end of the paper.

How It Was

When one reads about what women had to go through in past centuries in order to study mathematics, a science, or any other subject that at the time was considered "unlady-like," it is not at all surprising that there are now so few women in these fields. Although there evidently still

are social pressures causing women to avoid mathematics as a profession, according to the history books, in the past the pressure was extreme. Women who had somehow come to be knowledgeable in mathematics or science were publicly ridiculed (by Moliere, for example, in the 17th century), they were sometimes called witches (because of their delving into "mystical" things like mathematics or science), they were criticized for neglecting their "feminine" duties like sewing and entertaining, and, until recent years were completely barred from scientific employment and from even entering laboratory rooms.

The first noted woman mathematician mentioned in the mathematics history books, such as Smith (1951), Eves (1969), and Osen (1974), was Hypathia (370-415 AD) who was the daughter of Theon. She was said to be distinguished in mathematics, medicine and philosophy (Eves, 1969), and was "a most beautiful, most virtuous, most learned . . . lady" (Toland, 1720). She lectured at the Alexandrian "Museum" during years of great religious upheaval. Her scientific rationalism was considered heretical by certain Christian leaders, including Cyril of Alexandria, who spread nasty rumors about her. The result, according to Gibbon (1960), was:

On a fatal day, in the holy season of Lent, Hypatia was torn from her chariot, stripped naked, dragged to the church, and inhumanly butchered by the hands of Peter the reader and a troop of savage and merciless fanatics; her flesh was scraped from her bones with sharp oyster-shells, and her quivering limbs were delivered to the flames.

According to Eves (1969, Vol. I),

With the tragic passing of Hypatia, the curtain fell on the Greek contribution to mathematics; the long and glorious history of Greek mathematics essentially came to an end.

The accounts of Hypatia seem to indicate that she was truly an all-around person--she was also accomplished in athletics and oratory--and that she enjoyed the kind of status (before and after being murdered) sought by everyone, regardless of sex, race, or nationality. According to Osen

(1974), Hypatia was trained from birth, by her father, to be such a person. If so, this is an example of the value of an unbiased general education, which in the days of Hypatia was available only to the elite. (Her father was the director of the University of Alexandria and a distinguished professor of mathematics.)

Smith (1951, Vol. I), however, throws a little cold water on the stories about Hypatia. He (a male, writing in about 1920) says that she "was the first women who took any noteworthy position in mathematics, and on this account and because of her martyrdom she has occupied an unduly exalted place in history." He also states that much that passes for history in her case seems to be fiction. Most of her mathematical works have been lost, probably along with the destruction of the libraries in Alexandria. However, references to her works by others have been found, and one of her original treatises was found in the 15th century in the Vatican library (Osen, 1974).

Osen's book (1974) describes, in nontechnical terms, the lives and works of eight outstanding women mathematicians of the past from Hypatia through Emmy Noether (1882-1935). Prior to Osen's book, the classic on the lives of mathematicians was evidently the book by Bell (1937) with a title that would today be considered sexist: Men of Mathematics, although Osen's title is not considered sexist: Women in Mathematics. The difference is that Bell's book was supposed to be, according to the cover jacket, a book about "The Lives and Achievements of the Great Mathematicians from Zeno to Poincare," which should include all great mathematicians, while Osen's book claimed only to describe the lives of women mathematicians, hence making the title appropriate.

Most of the other great women mathematicians described in the mathematics history books had to overcome great obstacles before they could even study mathematics much less get to the point where they could produce creative works in this field. Maria Gaetana Agnesi (of Italy, 1718-1799) was one of the few who, like Hypatia, was encouraged from infancy to learn everything. Her father also was a mathematician who "carefully planned the young girl's education so that it was rich and profound" (Osen, 1974). She was very early recognized as a child prodigy, and by the age of nine had mastered Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and several modern languages. In her teens she mastered many of the works of the great mathematicians such as Newton, Leibniz, Fermat, Descartes, Euler, and the Bernoullis. By the age of twenty, an age when many modern students are just beginning to rue the

fact that they were 100% successful in avoiding mathematics in high school, she was writing a two volume set of works on the differential and integral calculus. These works were used in schools throughout the world as textbooks for many years. Unfortunately, today's students hear of Maria Agnesi only in connection with the "witch of Agnesi," a term which does not refer to her personality (for she had a warm personality and was loved by all who knew her) but to a curve that she studied--the graph of the equation $y=1/(1+x^2)$ --which was labeled a "witch" through an error in translation by an Englishman. Ironically, English speaking people of the future may further change the facts, and refer to her as the "witch," even though she spent the last 30-40 years of her life working with the sick and poor through her church.

From 1700 to 1900, the great women mathematicians were forced to somehow sneak into the study of mathematics and science. They simply were not allowed to enter universities. Their parents did not let them study mathematics even on their own. When they became successful in mathematics they did it while carrying a full load of sewing, entertaining, and housework. The well known writers of France such as Rousseau, Diderot, Montesquieu, Voltaire, Moliere, and Boileau, were helping to popularize the general feeling about the female mind: "Everything that tends to generalize ideas is outside of her competence" (Osen, 1974).

Caroline Herschel (born in Germany, 1750-1848) almost spent her life as a servant after being convinced by her father that she was ugly and therefore had no chance for anything better. Fortunately her brother, William, helped her join him in England where she spent the rest of her life working with mathematics and astronomy and was responsible for much of the fame that came to her brother via his (and her) astronomical discoveries and papers. She was slavishly devoted to her brother and selflessly directed all praise to him for the work that they did jointly.

Sophie Germain (France 1776-1831), who has been called one of the founders of mathematical physics (Osen, 1974), studied mathematics untutored using books from her father's library against the stubborn opposition of her family. To keep her from staying up all night studying (it wasn't good for her health), they took away her light, heat, and clothing after she retired at night, but she was able to continue, wrapped in quilts, using a store of hidden candles. The Ecole Polytechnique in Paris did not accept women, but Sophie studied there anyway, on the sly, by collecting the lecture notes of professors, including Lagrange, one of the most famous mathematicians of the times. Much of her

writing was done under the (male) pseudonym of M. le Blanc. She taught herself well enough to win a prize offered by the French Academy of Sciences on elastic vibration problems. Although she was a pioneer in this field and she has been called (McZans, 1913) "probably the most profoundly intellectual woman that France has ever produced," her name was omitted from the list of names of seventy-two savants inscribed on the Eiffel Tower when it was erected.

There are many other examples of women mathematicians from the past more accomplished even than the previously mentioned ones, who had a very difficult time entering the field of mathematics because of the prevailing belief in what a woman should do with her life. Osen (1974) also describes the following: Mary Fairfax Sommerville (Scotland 1780-1872) could scarcely read by the age of 10, and was in her mid teens when while leafing through a fashion magazine she found a page containing some algebra, a strange mixture of letters, chiefly x's and y's. She vowed to learn about this subject and, despite a great deal of family opposition, began studying Euclid in bed using the "hidden candle" method. She went on to bring new life to English mathematics, chemistry, and physics. Little had been accomplished in these fields in England since Newton, and the French scientists were pulling ahead of the English till Mary Sommerville came along. She published throughout her life. Her last major work, Molecular and Microscopic Science, was published when she was 89 years old. She was still writing on the day of her death at age 92.

Sonya Kovalevsky (Russia, 1850-1891), perhaps the most famous of women mathematicians of the past, had many talents in addition to being beautiful and charming. (The math history books usually discuss the looks of the great women mathematicians but not the men.) When she was a small child, she was introduced to mathematics by the wallpaper of her bedroom. The wall was covered with the lithographed lecture notes of Ostrogradsky on the differential and integral calculus, purchased by Sonya's father in his youth. After spending years trying to decipher the strange writing, she found that when she was formally taught calculus at the age of fifteen, the concepts seemed to come to her immediately, "just as if I had known them before" (Leffler, 1895). Despite her gifts, she was not allowed to enter a Russian university. Women were not permitted. Her method of overcoming this difficulty was a common one in those days: She arranged a marriage of convenience in order to gain the freedom to travel and study at a foreign university. By this means she was able to study at Heidelberg and finally at the University of Berlin with the great Karl Weierstrass. Berlin University

did not allow women but Weierstrass worked with her anyway because of her obvious ability. While she was in Berlin she had a run in with Bunsen (of the "burner"), an "irascible old bachelor, a woman hater" whose laboratory was "untarnished by women" (Osen, 1974). She managed to talk him into allowing women to study in his laboratory, which made him feel he had been manipulated and for which he later tried to get revenge. Sonya went on to be presented the "Prix Bordin" of the French Academy of Sciences and to be elected to the Russian Academy of Sciences although she was never so much as offered a teaching position at a Russian university.

The last of Osen's (1974) women mathematicians is Emmy Noether (Germany, 1882-1935) whose name is known to every modern mathematician (from "Noetherian rings"). Again, even after she was recognized as one of the world's top mathematicians and recommended by the most famous mathematician of the day, David Hilbert, faculty factions at the University of Gottingen refused to allow her the unpaid position of "Privatdozent" because she was a woman. According to Reid (1970), they argued:

How can it be allowed that a woman become a Privatdozent? Having become a Privatdozent, she can then become a professor and a member of the University Senate. . . . What will our soldiers think when they return to the University and find that they are expected to learn at the feet of a woman?

Hilbert managed to obtain her a position despite these objections; however, it was very poorly paid. In 1933 she was dismissed from her position because of Nazi reasons and was welcomed in the U.S. at Bryn Mawr as a professor, where, however, she died less than two years later.

There is no doubt that of the most famous names in mathematics from the past, very few of them are women. Even though the women discussed on the previous pages had great minds and contributed far more than most of us do in our professions, none of them would probably be included in a standard list of all time great mathematicians. On the cover jacket of Bell (1937) are listed eighteen mathematicians that were evidently chosen by someone to be the greatest of all time. This list included no women. A perusal of the table of contents of the classical four volume set, World of Mathematics (Newman, 1956), reveals no mention of even one woman among the many mathematicians discussed in this "comprehensive" work. In the list of "great mathematicians" and their dates (Newman, 1956, Vol. 1, p. 78), sixty-one names

are given, none of them women. After reading in Osen (1974) about the family and social pressures which had to be overcome for even great female minds to begin the study of mathematics or science, it is not surprising that the women that finally did become mathematicians, did not reach their full potential because of all the other "female work" with which they had to cope.

How It Is

There is no doubt that today there are many well known female mathematicians, but their numbers are small compared to the number of well known male mathematicians. Most of the barriers to women studying mathematics and science have been removed, but there still seems to remain some of the age-old feeling that mathematics is not for women. This feeling seems to be spread by women as well as men. The problem of "math anxiety" seems to be afflicting more women than men, according to Carl Tomizuka's presentation at the UND seminars and also according to others such as Prestwood (1981). Osen (1974, p. ix) indicates that "Many women in our present culture value mathematical ignorance as if it were a social grace, and they perceive mathematics as a series of meaningless technical procedures."

The question arises, does our present educational system contribute to these problems or will they gradually disappear with our present set-up? There is more than one problem involved: Women are anxious about math. Women avoid math. Women do not major in math. Women do not teach much upper-level math in universities. Women rarely go on for Ph.D's in math.

I will list a few examples to help illustrate what the present situation is. Some of them indicate that the situation is improving, others that there is still much work to

be done.

(a) A recent girl student at UND decided to change her major to mathematics. She reported receiving a good deal of criticism about the decision from her mother who holds a responsible position in this state. The girl went on to get a degree in math, with a good but not outstanding record, and had no trouble getting a job with beginning pay over \$20,000. However, a year or two later she thought advancement in her job would be difficult because of her sex.

(b) In the math track meets at UND the winners are often girls, but in college other fields seem to be more attractive to them than mathematics. Of the eleven UND undergraduate mathematics prizes given out several years ago for solving announced problems, one girl won four of the prizes. She was a mathematics major but left the field to go into medicine.

(c) When I was a graduate student, there was a high school girl in one of my classes who was outstanding in both music and mathematics. She was under a great deal of pressure from educators to choose each of the fields. She chose music, which was the choice more socially acceptable for women. There is certainly nothing wrong with that choice, except that, of all the examples of this nature, I can think of none where the choice went the other way.

(d) My daughter, two years ago, at age 10, said math was one of her favorite subjects. Now she says she hates math, because "It's boring." I also happen to have a ten-year-old son who now says math is his favorite subject. What will he say in two years.

(e) Another close relative of mine, who shall remain nameless, while working for her bachelor's degree in biology (an unreasonably tough department then, which required its students to take calculus), had a bad case of math anxiety while she was taking calculus. Throughout the whole course she was sure she would wind up with a D or even worse. She finally managed to squeak through with an A and the highest average in the class by about 20 percent. Recent UND studies by the graduate students of Glenn Prigge, (Lesmeister, 1981, Prestwood, 1981, and Kern, 1981), indicate that in lower level math classes at UND, the above trait may be common. More women are anxious about algebra but women do better at algebra than men at UND. (Of course, it may not be the anxious ones that do better.)

(f) About one-third of our mathematics majors at UND

are women. This is much higher than I would have guessed. It is encouraging, but the figure should be closer to one-half. Also, approximately one-third of our recent graduate students have been women. Very few of these women seem to go for Ph.Ds in mathematics, however. The percentage of tenure-track mathematics faculty members at UND that are women is 0%. However, the department follows the University practice of using as many temporary and part-time women faculty members as possible, at low pay.

(g) The novel, The Women's Room (French, 1977), a book which is certainly read by many modern women, helps to project the notion that mathematics is not for women, by indicating that the statistics courses, taken by women as a requirement for a Ph.D in English, are, I believe the word used is, "hideous." Of course, the way they are taught, maybe they really are hideous. x D

(h) The National Science Foundation recently announced a program for funding visiting women professors in science and engineering to teach and do research at universities. A month later the program was cancelled along with other budget cuts in science education.

(i) In my Math Methods classes last semester (Spring 1981), the highest average was obtained by a girl. The overall girls' average of those that finished the class was slightly higher than the class average. The recent "John Hopkins Study" (Benbow and Stanley, 1980) and resulting news media articles have hinted that males might have a genetically based superiority over females in mathematical ability. The response of most mathematicians and math educators who have spent years teaching math is that such a claim is "baloney" and that the claims are based on faulty statistics and faulty reasoning. However, Benbow and Stanley pointed out in a response to the responses, that their article did not use the word "genetic," but that males, for whatever reason, did show superior mathematical ability by a considerable margin in their tests, and that "endogenous" variables may be involved, and it would "seem prudent not to rule out endogenous explanations for these sex differences entirely." (Science, 1981) The fact that the article received nationwide media coverage slanted in such a way as to hint at genetic differences, may cause further avoidance of math by women.

(j) David Ballew (1981) reports that at the South Dakota School of Mines and Technology, a quality science and engineering college, the female students are as well prepared in mathematics as the males. However, they felt that

females in general were not encouraged to take mathematics/science courses in high school, and so most females were not prepared to major in science/engineering in college. These students also reported that their career decisions were most influenced by relatives, peers, and teachers, but that high school counselors had very little effect.

(k) In socialist countries the students evidently have no choice. Everyone takes a great deal of mathematics and science. See Davis (1979) and Swetz (1978). In North Dakota, the high school requirement is one year of math, which may be satisfied by courses like business arithmetic. Many students get through high school by learning essentially no mathematics. The Grand Forks Herald recently surveyed some former high school students and asked what they would do differently if they were to start over in high school. The dominant reply was: Take more math. This seems to indicate inadequate requirements and poor advising. When it is this easy to avoid math in high school, the girls will tend to do so more than boys, since they feel more social pressure than boys to stay away from math.

(l) Even the "Peanuts" cartoons, although showing some understanding of math anxiety and avoidance, add to the problem somewhat by always depicting the girls as the ones that cannot handle mathematics.

One could give many other examples, references, and reasons, but it seems to be pretty clear already that the situation for women and mathematics is much improved over what it was fifty years ago, however, we still have a long ways to go before we obtain full equality between the sexes in math-related fields.

Minorities seem to be having even more of a problem with mathematics than are women, so we need to spend time getting them involved with mathematics also.

How It Should Be

"Let no one unversed in geometry enter here."

--Plato

We should strive for the following:

- (a) Eliminate the avoidance of math.
- (b) Convince girls at an early age that mathematics-related fields are equally appropriate for all sexes.

- (c) Increase the number of women teaching and working in mathematics-related fields.
- (d) Make mathematics more interesting at lower levels. Decrease emphasis on the "new math" which is neither new nor difficult, but is a bag of "buzz" words that some math educators promoted a few years ago as being innovative, which in turn got the educators promoted but confused the parents and made them anti-math.
- (e) Eliminate math anxiety and its vicious circle with math avoidance.
- (f) Educate people who influence students and their choices of careers, not to label the different possible careers as "man-work" or "woman-work."

How to Change It

I'm not out to convince anyone that calculus, or even algebra and geometry, are necessities in the hotel business. But I will argue long and loud that they are not useless ornaments pinned onto an average man's education.

--Conrad Hilton (1957)

This section is very difficult to write. For one must come up with practical methods that have a good chance of working at various levels.

Here are some actions which can take place to improve the mathematical involvement of women:

(a) Pre-college. In North Dakota, the high school mathematics requirement should be increased from one year to at least two years of mathematics, including geometry and algebra. The North Dakota Council of Teachers of Mathematics has already written a draft of a position paper requesting such a change. A copy of the draft has been attached at the end of this paper (Attachment #1).

The National Council of Teachers of Mathematics (NCTM) has come up with a position statement and an action brochure, both titled "Mathematics Education of Girls and Young Women," to help high school teachers guide more girls into math courses and explain to them that they are greatly narrowing their career choices by avoiding math. Copies of both of these publications are attached at the end of this paper (Attachments #2 and 3).

NCTM has also just released (April-May, 1981) an action workshop kit entitled, "Multiplying Options and Subtracting Bias," which they describe as a videotape and workshop intervention program designed to eliminate sexism from mathematics education. The kit includes four 30-minute color video tapes, narrated by Marlo Thomas, and is directed toward four different levels of junior/senior high school audiences. Also included are workshop instructions, overhead transparencies and handout masters. The project was directed by Elizabeth Fennema, University of Wisconsin-Madison. UND should certainly obtain this kit, which costs \$375 for the set of all four levels, and see that such workshops are set up for area high school students.

The Mathematical Association of America (MAA) has come up with several brochures, appropriate for high school students, which could help decrease the amount of math avoidance by pointing out how much math is needed for various career choices that both boys and girls may be contemplating. These brochures have titles such as: "The Math in High School . . . you'll need for college," "YOU WILL need Math," and "Careers in Mathematics." We should see that these get distributed to high schools for posting and advising. They cost about 10 cents per copy, in bulk. A portion of one of these brochures is included later, as the final comment of this paper.

The students, boys and girls, in high school should be strongly urged to take more than even the proposed two-year math requirement if they are at all thinking of attending college. In order to keep from eliminating options from their future, they should be ready to take calculus as a freshman in college. This means they should take geometry, algebra and trigonometry in high school. We should stop trying to scare them with statements to the effect that calculus is difficult. On the contrary, it is the course where the real beauty of mathematics is first encountered (in my opinion). Many people do not get the inspiration to enter a math-related field until they have had calculus, which immediately eliminates most girls for they are blocked off from math long before they get to calculus. In my own case, before I took calculus (which was as a sophomore because of low high school requirements) I thought that mathematics as a field was boring and lifeless and I could not understand why anyone would want to major in it. However, after seeing in calculus the fantastic ways the human mind could conjure up knowledge after starting with little or nothing, there was no question about my choice.

Another thing teachers should strive for in high school and grade school, in order to eliminate math avoidance and

the resulting fear of math, is to make the math courses more interesting. This can be done by adding to text material and by eliminating some of the boring repetition (such as 100 problems for factoring expressions like $3x^2y^3z - 6xyz^3$ when maybe five would suffice). One should introduce "modern" topics such as population growth, radioactivity, and, by all means, use calculators and computers (which require knowing more math, not less). Give students take-home projects to work on. (How much water is used when you flush your toilet 10 times a day for 50 years? How much heat do you save in a winter when you don't drain your bathtub until after the water has cooled?) Also eliminate undue emphasis on speed in doing problems.

There is one small problem with all of the above. It requires more math teachers. There is now a shortage of math teachers in many places in the U.S., a major cause being that the beginning annual pay differential between industry and teaching in math-related fields is approximately \$10,000. However, in many cases the teachers and classes are already there but the class rooms are not filled. Now is a good time to increase the number of women high school math teachers, and hence improve the so-called "role model" situation.

(b) College and After. At this university, there are several things that can be done, other than those already mentioned, to increase the participation of women in mathematics.

First, we can hire more Ph.D. female mathematics faculty members when they are available. But they may not be available until after the number of women participating in mathematics has increased. Hopefully, the availability of a large number of such positions for women will help increase the number of Ph.D women in mathematics. Perhaps a department should offer a position to a woman applicant whose qualifications rank her well below the top few candidates for the position. Many people argue in favor of this. Others say it is discrimination and refuse to accept such a policy.

Concerning the fact that many women come to this university totally unprepared in math and hesitant to take any math, there are several routes that can be taken to relieve this problem. These routes must be viewed as temporary, until the math requirements in high school are improved, after which the entering students all will have a reasonable background in mathematics. But until that time, it looks as if the university should be involved in teaching high school mathematics. The way UND is presently going at such courses

has been decided by lack of staff rather than promise of success and the results are, not surprisingly, fairly poor. The method presently being used is the "send-them-through-by-the-hundreds-and-let-'em-sink-or-swim-method," which is done by the self-paced technique in beginning algebra (which we call "intermediate" algebra) and by large lecture sections in "college" algebra. The latest success rate in intermediate algebra (Math 102, Spring 1981) is 25.8 percent, that is, out of 389 students beginning the course, about one-fourth of them received a grade of S (satisfactory), the rest dropped (33%), failed (28%), or took an I (13%). (No, Mean John Whitcomb was not the instructor!) This may say something about our drop policy. The instructors involved received good evaluations and one has received an Outstanding Teacher award. The problem may lie in the fact that these students (especially those that are anxious) who need individual attention simply cannot learn much in this "herd" environment. It is obvious that a great deal of effort is being wasted in these "remedial" courses. People who have avoided math or who have math anxiety should be taught in small sections where they can feel free to get personal attention from their instructors. There are some very good GTAs working in the math lab to give individual attention but many students put things off until it is too late.

UND is ordering a copy of the film on math anxiety which was shown on campus in April 1981. Glenn Prigge is spending the summer putting together some materials on coping with math anxiety, supported by the Instructional Development Office. As one viewer of the Math Anxiety film mentioned, "What good does it do to show the film if you don't follow it up with a course for those who have this problem?" Hopefully, some kind of course for the anxious can be offered on an experimental basis this next year on campus.

We should be teaching a course in history of mathematics in which the women and the men mathematicians are described, as well as their relationships to the development of mathematics, the "Queen" of the sciences. Perhaps a short course or colloquium on women in mathematics would help. Materials like Osen (1974), Eves (1969, 1971), and Iacobacci (1970) should be included.

Women should have better opportunities to come in contact with an "inspirational experience" such as Mary Somerville's x's and y's in the fashion magazine or Sonya Kovalovsky's calculus wallpaper, which might intrigue a person to the point where she would want to learn more about the subject.

We could bring in more well-known women mathematicians to present colloquia on their research. Travel funds for such talks are drying up. Some help may be obtained from professional organizations but the costs would have to be shared by UND.

Reauthorization of the announced, then cancelled, NSF program for funding woman visiting science professorships is desirable.

Many people who have avoided math do not know how to study it when they finally take a math course. Math professors may not realize this. I remember a girl student who once called me the night before an exam and asked, "What chapters should I read for the exam tomorrow?" She had not yet done any of the assigned exercises. This puzzled me until I recalled that in many courses you have to read (a great deal) in order to do well in the course, but you do not work exercises. She got the lowest grade on the exam. In math there is a minimum of reading. The important part is understanding and practicing. Such people can be helped by talks on how to study math, which have been given in connection with the Counseling Center recently.

In courses for teachers we should constantly stress the problems of math avoidance and math anxiety.

Naturally, we should also try to make the statements in our texts and courses as sexually unbiased as possible.

We should try to dispel the notion that "mathematically inclined" persons are cold, weird creeps that can do amazing computations in their heads. It isn't so. They are just ordinary people that enjoy working on problems which at first glance look hard but interesting. A German author and hymnologist with the pen name Novalis (1772-1801) showed that he was also well-versed in mathematics when he made the comments: (1) "The real mathematician is an enthusiast per se; without enthusiasm, no mathematics." (2) "One may be a mathematician of the first rank without being able to compute; it is possible to be a great computer without having the slightest idea of mathematics." (3) "Music has much resemblance to algebra." (Eves, 1971)

We surely will never reach the point where we have eliminated all of the differences between the sexes (let me off if we do), but within the next few decades, we should at least progress far enough so that we treat both sexes equally unfairly and reach a sort of symbiotic stand-off.

The following is a portion of a Mathematical Association of America brochure which was made to help combat the problem of math avoidance:

Attachment #1

Draft

NORTH DAKOTA COUNCIL OF TEACHERS OF MATHEMATICS POSITION
PAPER CONCERNING MATHEMATICS REQUIREMENTS IN NORTH DAKOTA
HIGH SCHOOLS.

The North Dakota Council of Teachers of Mathematics endorses the addition of a second year of mathematics as a requirement for graduation from North Dakota high schools. Mathematics is pervasive in today's technical world. The amount of time most students currently spend on mathematics in high school does not match the importance of mathematical understanding to their lives. Polls show that the public recognizes that mathematics is essential for all students, and most students are not taking as much mathematics in high school as they will need for their immediate or distant future. Yet, North Dakota requires only one year of mathematics for graduation from high school.

The North Dakota Council of Teachers of Mathematics recognizes that the additional requirement will pose problems for our schools. The responsibility for adequately meeting the new requirements must lie with the local school district and its mathematics teachers.

Continual contact with mathematics is more desirable than the "hurry-up and get it out of the way" approach to requirements. The North Dakota Council of Teachers of Mathematics recommends that at least one-half year of mathematics be required of all students during the senior year. Students preparing for college should be counseled to take a full year of mathematics as seniors. Small schools should make a special effort to keep courses in algebra and geometry open to seniors.

Too many students close the door to rewarding careers by discontinuing the study of mathematics early in high school. The North Dakota Council of Teachers of Mathematics recommends that mathematics teachers and counselors work together to help students make appropriate decisions about their study of mathematics.

The North Dakota Council of Teachers of Mathematics recommends that the additional requirement not be met solely by placing more students into one of the two traditional tracks of general mathematics or precalculus mathematics. New coursework should be developed to reflect those areas of

mathematics which are of growing importance. Courses designed to enhance the students' knowledge of computers, statistics, probability, interpretation of data, and to develop their problem solving ability deserve special emphasis.

If the State of North Dakota does not increase the graduation requirement, the North Dakota Council of Teachers of Mathematics urges local school boards to adopt the two-year mathematics requirement for their local district.

Attachment #2

A POSITION STATEMENT ON THE MATHEMATICS EDUCATION OF GIRLS AND YOUNG WOMEN.

The National Council of Teachers of Mathematics is committed to the principle that girls and women should be full participants in all aspects of mathematics education, both as students and as teachers.

Often employment opportunities and continuing education-progress are closed to many young women because of powerful social influences that discourage them from continuing their study of mathematics beyond that required by school policy. Mathematics educators, therefore, must make individual and organizational commitments to eliminate psychological as well as institutional barriers to women in mathematics. Innovative ways must be explored to convince both students and parents of the vital importance of continuing to take mathematics courses so as to keep open both educational and career options.

Each school or school system that does not have an equal proportion of the sexes in its most advanced mathematics classes should examine both its program and its faculty for influences that lead to "math avoidance" by girls and young women. The teacher is in a key role to stimulate and encourage students to continue the study of mathematics. Teachers at all educational levels must take positive steps and use appropriate learning materials and experiences to overcome the mistaken notion that mathematics is a male domain.

Suitable programs, adequately financed, must be developed to promote the mathematical education of females. Both simple justice and future economic productivity require that we do so without further delay. (April 1980).

National Council of Teachers of Mathematics

The National Council of Teachers of Mathematics has for its object, the advancement of mathematics teaching in elementary schools, junior and senior high schools, two-year colleges, and teacher-education colleges. All persons interested in mathematics or the teaching of mathematics are eligible for membership.

Brochures describing NCTM membership, publication and convention services are available free on request from the Headquarters Office, 1906 Association Drive, Reston, Virginia 22091 (703/620-9840).

Attachment #3

Mathematics Education of Girls and Young Women

Guidelines for schools--

- To assess the extent of mathematics avoidance by girls, and
- To promote the study of mathematics by girls (and boys).

Both inside and outside our schools, females are exposed to powerful influences that discourage them from continuing the study of mathematics beyond that required by school policy. As a consequence, many doors to both employment and continuing educational progress are closed to young women. What appears to be an inequity in career choice or career advancement is frequently the result of inequity in mathematics course-taking.

Mathematics educators, therefore, must make both individual and organizational commitments to the task of assuring truly equal opportunity for girls and young women to achieve in mathematics. The task entails the elimination of psychological as well as institutional barriers. The commitments must be deliberate and specific, supported by systematic and adequately financed programs. It is in the interests of both simple justice and practical economic productivity to do so.

The National Council of Teachers of Mathematics encourages each school to assess its enrollments in mathematics to determine the proportions of girls and boys enrolled. Schools should collect whatever data they can. The first step is to determine if, and where, girls are dropping out in their study of mathematics.

A program to promote increased participation by girls should include the following components:

1. General awareness of the problem of mathematics avoidance by girls
2. Provision of information about mathematical prerequisites for vocations, careers, and further education
3. Provision of nonsexist learning materials and instructional practices
4. Periodic reassessment

The assessment may reveal that boys as well as girls

are avoiding higher level high school mathematics courses. In our increasingly complex technological society, these courses are becoming more and more important for opportunities in higher education and careers. Therefore, the broader problem of mathematics avoidance by all students may need to be addressed.

General Awareness of the Problem of Math Avoidance by Girls

Once the problem is identified, then teachers, counselors, and administrators must be made aware of it. They should be provided with copies of results of the local assessment along with information about the importance of mathematics students' future opportunities. They should also be made aware of factors that may be operating to deter girls from taking all the mathematics courses that they will need. Awareness can be achieved through written communications, meetings, or in-service sessions. Parents and other members of the community should be alerted to the problem and invited to join with the school staff in seeking solutions.

A variety of resources available from the organizations listed can be used to initiate and maintain awareness. Resource persons from business and industry, from nearby institutions of higher education, and from women's organizations should be invited to help out. They can be effective in providing information for staff, students, parents, and community.

Awareness of the problem by mathematics teachers is of key importance. They can provide the information the expectation, and the inspiration that will make a difference. A recent study of factors affecting women's participation in mathematics indicates that they are similar for both girls and boys. Factors, ranked in order, are these:

1. How useful mathematics will be
2. How good students are in mathematics and how much they like it
3. What mathematics teachers and parents think
4. What the school counselor thinks
5. Whether friends take mathematics and whether classmates approve.

Teachers will have an excellent opportunity to provide information on how useful mathematics will be. Teachers need to help students recognize their accomplishments and potential in mathematics. Studies have indicated that when girls and boys who achieve at the same level are asked how good they are at mathematics, the girls tend to see themselves

as having lower ability. Teachers who are aware of this misconception can help girls overcome it. Teachers can make mathematics come alive so that students will be enthusiastic about it. What the mathematics teacher thinks about a student taking more mathematics is very important. Apparently the teacher's opinion is even more important for girls than for boys. The finding that the mathematics teacher's opinion is more influential than that of the school counselor should not be surprising. The student sees the teacher as much as 180 hours during the school year, whereas contact with the school counselor is generally quite limited. If teachers and counselors work together, then the influence of both can be greater. Awareness by teachers and counselors of the problem of mathematics avoidance followed by affirmative action can lead to higher expectations, higher enrollment, and higher achievement in mathematics.

Provision of Information about Mathematical Prerequisites for Vocations, Careers, and Further Education

A goal of every mathematics teacher in every mathematics class should be the provision of information to students about how their study of mathematics will affect them in the future. Career information should be distributed and discussed. A variety of other sources--posters, films, videotapes, guest speakers--can be used to provide or reinforce already available information about the need for students to keep their career options open through the study of advanced mathematics. The NCTM Headquarters Office maintains a listing of SOURCES OF MATERIALS AVAILABLE ON CAREERS IN MATHEMATICS. Career information is available from state mathematics supervisors. Colleges, universities, and vocational schools that graduates attend can provide information about the mathematics prerequisites for their various programs. Information should be provided to parents through "open house" discussions, parent conferences, and written information. Check to make sure that personnel and guidance counselors have relevant and up-to-date information. Their cooperation and support can be helpful in assuring that both students and parents know the necessity of an adequate preparation in mathematics for today's employment and education opportunities.

Provision of Nonsexist Learning Materials and Instructional Practices

Schools should assess their textbooks and supplementary materials (including teacher-developed materials) in order to assure nonsexist language, proportional representation of females, and depiction of both males and females in the full range of roles involving mathematics. Sex

stereotyping in learning materials may be influential in discouraging girls and young women from continuing to pursue the study of mathematics. Experience has shown that when school systems identify and refuse to purchase sexist learning materials, publishers will revise them.

Teachers also need to be consciously aware of the influence of their own attitudes and behaviors and the influence of peer groups on the self-confidence and attitudes of students and students' decisions to continue the study of mathematics. Classroom interactions and expectations should be independent of sex.

Periodic Reassessment

At least every three years, enrollment patterns should be reassessed to determine what progress is being made. Renewed efforts should be made in areas of weakness. Practices that contribute to increased enrollment should be identified and replicated. In-service activities designed to maintain awareness and to further promising practices should be continued. With positive teacher, school, and community attitudes and efforts, sexism in mathematics education can be eliminated.

Resource Organizations

Association for Women in Mathematics (AWM), Women's Research Center, Wellesley College, 828 Washington Street, Wellesley, MA 02181.

Institute for the Study of Anxiety in Learning, The Washington School of Psychiatry, 1610 New Hampshire Avenue NW, Washington, DC 20009.

Math/Science Network, c/o Math Science Resource Center, Mills College, Oakland, CA 94613

National Council of Teachers of Mathematics, 1906 Association Drive, Reston, VA 22091

National Institute of Education (NIE), 1200 - 19th Street NW, Washington, DC 20208

Women & Mathematics Education (WME), c/o Education Department, George Mason University, 4400 University Drive, Fairfax, VA 22030.

WOMEN AND STATISTICS

John D. Williams

The issue of women and statistics is two-fold: first, women should be encouraged to study the field and methodology of statistics; second, sex differences are a most important area to understand regarding the complexities of the possible research that has been conducted and will be conducted. Special interest is focused on statistically investigating discrimination in general and sex-related discrimination in particular.

Women in the Study of Statistics

Because statistics is computational in nature, students in statistics classes and people in general think it is a branch of mathematics, and therefore assume that males will do better in statistics as they do better in mathematics. While one might quarrel whether there are any sex differences in mathematical talent, a host of studies show males doing much better in this field, starting at least as early as the seventh grade. Several studies conducted at Johns Hopkins University reveal a definite advantage in mathematics for males, at least among the most mathematically precocious.¹

Of particular interest is the publication by Fox, Brody and Tobin, Women and the Mathematical Mystique. Twelve articles address several issues regarding sex differences in mathematics. Ernest's article on sex differences and course-taking related several important findings. When mathematics becomes optional (in high school and college) very few women enroll. Attrition is higher at every level for women than for men both in mathematics and closely related disciplines that require a considerable mathematics background.² The mathematics filter, which becomes critical in entering some fields that are both in high demand and are higher paying, seems to filter out a disproportionate share of women and minorities; the major filter appears to be calculus.³ In particular, at many institutions calculus is required in a wide variety of fields at the undergraduate level, but generally, calculus is not required in education, the social sciences and the humanities, fields that typically enroll larger proportions of women. Also, while there appears to be no sex differences in mathematics grades, sex differences often show males doing significantly better in standardized

tests. Fennema (1980) holds that sex differences in achievement are due either to differential course-taking or to differences in socialization.⁴

Just what are the implications of the preceding for the study of statistics? There is no clear-cut answer; students with very moderate mathematics backgrounds can successfully study applied statistics and be able to operationally be successful in substantive applications of statistical methodology; all other things being equal, they do have an advantage if they have some facility in mathematics, particularly if they wish a career in statistics.

Even more to the point, does statistics show the same filtering process as does mathematics? In answering this question, the personal experience of this writer is used, though these experiences may very well be indicative of changes taking place in higher education. In fifteen years of teaching the initial graduate course, for the first five years, 25% of the students enrolled were women. A slight change took place in the next five years, with 33% of the students enrolled being women. However, the past five years showed the enrollment of women to be 66%. While the first two five-year periods showed proportions close to the proportion of women in graduate school, the experience of the last five years has been that a significantly higher number of women students have taken the initial statistics course than has been their corresponding enrollment in graduate school. While the advanced courses are not so disproportionately female in their composition, all-male advanced statistics classes, so common only a few years ago, no longer exist. If the past showed a preponderance of male students, clearly the present is reversed. Those who might be concerned that the change in mix of students in statistics classes might portend a diminution in standards in quantitative courses dominated in enrollment by women should have their concerns alleviated. The major concession is not in expectancies of students (though there is an increase in expectancies regarding computer usage) but in the content of examples regarding statistical methodology. A very natural change has been the inclusion of material relating to examination of information regarding women and, in particular, examination of the methodologies of discrimination.

Multiple Linear Regression

A most important statistical methodology to gain familiarity with is multiple linear regression. Not only is this familiarity necessary for understanding the attempts

to redress discrimination, familiarity with multiple linear regression can be a key to understanding statistics in general. The many uses and applications of multiple linear regression are such that familiarity with even a sampling of its features is well beyond a first course in statistical methodology. However, some of these features can be addressed in the first course. An example of the use of multiple linear regression is:

$$Y = b_0 + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + \dots + b_kX_k + e$$

Where Y might be salary,

X_1 might be sex (female = 1, male = 0) and

X_2 might be number of hours taught.

Several more useful variables might also be included. The b's are regression coefficients. The particular coefficient of interest is b_1 , the coefficient for sex. If b_1 were (say) -720, it would mean, all other things taken into account, women are underpaid by \$720. If b_1 were positive (say) 128, it would mean, all other things taken into account, men are underpaid by \$128. Because a study of this nature was conducted at the University of North Dakota, it is worthwhile to consider the results in detail.⁵ First, the variables used in the study are shown in Table 1.

Table 1.⁶ Variables Included in the Regression Analysis Regarding Equity Adjustments to Salaries at the University of North Dakota

Variable	Variable Number	Coding ^a
Degree Level	2	Doctorate
	3	Bachelor's
	4	Professional
Years experience at current institution	5	3-7
	6	8-12
	7	13-17
	8	18-22
	9	Over 22
Level of program and contingent research involved	10	Graduate program
Sex	11	1 if male, 0 if female

Table 1--Continued

Variable	Variable Number	Coding ^a
Discipline	13	Biological sciences
(Higher Education General)	14	Business and management
Information Survey	15	Communications
(HEGIS taxonomy)	16	Computer and information sciences
	17	Education
	18	Engineering
	19	Fine and applied arts
	20	Foreign languages
	21	Health professions
	22	Home economics
	23	Law
	24	Letters
	25	Mathematics
	26	Physical sciences
	27	Psychology
Rank	28	Professor
	29	Associate professor
	30	Assistant professor
Research	31	Publications
Teaching	32	Teaching rating
Service	33	University senate
(university committees)	34	Elected committees
	35	Senate committees
	36	Presidential committees
	37	Appointed committees

^aAll categorical variables except sex were coded 1 for yes; 0 for no.

First several things should be said about the variables used. While the process of accomplishing the manipulation of the data in a multiple linear regression is an objective process, the choosing of the variables is in many ways a political process. Some would argue that rank is awarded in a discriminatory process, but Martin found that there was no sex discrimination involved in promotions; there was, however, a definite independent contribution towards predicting promotion due to being the chairperson in a department.⁷

While it is true that chairpersons were predominantly male, it could be pointed out that males who were not departmental chairs were disadvantaged in the promotional process when compared to either male or female chairpersons. The bias is not then a sex-bias, but a bias toward rewarding administrators.

In any event, some researchers would wish to eliminate rank as a variable in salary studies. While such a process may placate those who want to eliminate what they see as an unfair variable, such a model would fail to simulate reality. One of the goals of researchers who use regression is predictability; eliminating variables with virtually universal currency would probably lead to research that would be discarded; were it to be used, legal challenges might be discouraging. The variables shown in Table 1 are either background variables (degree level, years experience, level of program, sex, discipline, and rank) and measures of teaching (student ratings), research (a constructed variable attempting to assess number of articles, books, monographs, dramatic presentations, and other creative efforts) and service (University committees). While others might criticize some of the variables included (or not included), the authors were aware that the variables used did not completely address in particular teaching, research, or service. Defining variables in different ways may have been more effective, such as including number of hours taught, number of student credit hours (or weighted student credit hours) produced, separating the research variable into several more easily definable variables, and including measures of service not university-related. Future researchers will undoubtedly be able to build a better "mousetrap," but they should be forewarned the "mice" may not be willing to play; the choice of variables is very definitely political and to underplay the politics would be a disservice.

Research Design for Salary Study

All full-time tenured or tenure-track faculty wholly funded on 1977-78 appropriated monies on whom complete data were available were included in the sample. The independent variables are recorded in Table 1. The dependent variables were the 1977-78 contracted salary and the 1977-78 salary after the equity adjustment. The zero-coded variables were instructor, sociology, 0-2 years of experience, and undergraduate degree offered in home economics department and a holder of a master's degree. The research variable was a measure used at the University of North Dakota; while many idiosyncrasies were involved, ten points on the research variable represents publication as a single author of an

article in a refereed journal of national or international status. Other types of publication are covered as well. An average for the past six years was used as the measure of research productivity; if the faculty member had less than six years of professional activity, then the appropriate number of years was used in the averaging process. The teaching variable is the mean rating of the faculty member by students in the most recent administration of the rating scale. Seven faculty did not have a rating, reducing the population from 319 to 312. The service variable was assessed as the number of years served on five different kinds of university committees: the university senate, committees elected on a university-wide basis, committees elected by the university senate, committees appointed by the president, and other appointed committees; ad hoc committees were not included. Committee memberships for the past five years were included.

Table 2 shows the results of using the variables in Table 1 with 1977-78 salaries. Not shown are the 1977-78 contracted salaries, which were in many cases less than the actual salaries. An equity process was instituted in the state of North Dakota. One specific issue addressed at the University of North Dakota was inequity in salary due (independently) to sex.

An interesting note can be made regarding Table 2; a colleague of mine, Patricia Cohen from Columbia University, looked at Table 2 and stated, "O.K. Fine and dandy. Now where's my \$361?"

In a nutshell, that comment sums up the findings of Table 2 regarding sex discrimination. When the variables shown in Table 2 are taken into account, women are paid, on the average, \$361 less than men with the same qualifications, student ratings, research, and committee assignments. Insofar as the equation generated by the regression coefficients shown in Table 2, one way of removing the effect of sex would be to give women \$361 more in salary increases on an across-the-board basis. That is not to say all sex discrimination would be removed. Indeed, it might well introduce sex bias for newer faculty members (which would favor females) but still not address the amount of bias for those female faculty members who have been at the University for longer periods of time. Also, the \$361 represents a drop from \$391 for the regression coefficient for sex before the equity raises were allocated. This does not mean that women were given, on the average, \$30 more than men in the equity process. In fact, the mean increase was almost identical across sexes. The changes in the coefficient represent

Table 2.⁸ Multiple Regression for Equity Study After Adjustments for Faculty at the University of North Dakota. (n=312)

Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation	Correlation with Salary	Regression Coefficient	Computed t-Value	Beta
Ph.D.	0.657	0.475	0.365	1079.99	4.589	0.149
B.A.	0.012	0.112	-0.148	557.57	0.641	0.018
Prof.	0.006	0.079	0.067	3196.81	0.670	0.074
3 - 7 years	0.240	0.428	-0.026	158.40	0.526	0.019
8 - 12 years	0.275	0.447	0.074	221.49	0.676	0.028
13 - 17 years	0.134	0.341	0.090	442.96	1.141	0.044
18 - 22 years	0.051	0.220	0.125	906.15	1.784	0.058
Over 22 years	0.080	0.271	0.169	668.25	1.424	0.052
Graduate program	0.868	0.338	0.078	-91.01	-0.297	-0.008
Sex	0.855	0.351	0.268	361.03	1.253	0.037
Biological sciences	0.044	0.207	0.118	-100.49	-0.202	-0.006
Business and man.	0.105	0.308	0.061	1801.37	4.941	0.162
Communications	0.009	0.097	-0.049	-1139.43	-1.106	-0.032
Computer	0.006	0.079	-0.005	2361.01	2.118	0.054
Education	0.214	0.411	-0.042	724.52	2.176	0.086
Engineering	0.051	0.220	0.156	401.19	0.838	0.025
Fine and ap. arts	0.089	0.286	-0.273	-964.05	-2.165	-0.080
Foreign languages	0.044	0.207	-0.098	-1162.17	-2.303	-0.070
Health	0.019	-0.137	-0.063	-337.29	-0.464	-0.013
Home economics	0.019	0.137	-0.048	543.25	0.735	0.021
Law	0.022	0.148	0.176	7342.87	11.354	0.317
Letters	0.080	0.271	-0.036	-317.21	-0.782	-0.025
Mathematics	0.041	0.200	0.001	-235.44	-0.465	-0.013
Physical science	0.089	0.286	0.154	141.75	0.351	0.011
Psychology	0.041	0.200	-0.004	691.00	1.347	0.040
Professor	0.333	0.472	0.723	9050.52	11.979	1.245
Associate professor	0.403	0.491	-0.142	5174.23	7.316	0.740
Assistant professor	0.237	0.426	-0.530	2698.64	4.106	0.335
Publications	6.323	13.240	0.111	7.89	1.110	0.030
Teach. rating	3.077	0.533	-0.124	219.33	1.216	0.034
Univ. senate	0.503	1.054	0.367	298.29	3.114	0.091
Elected comm.	0.189	0.670	0.240	-41.61	-0.292	-0.008
Senate comm.	1.198	1.751	0.217	2.12	0.037	0.001
Presidential comm.	0.637	1.307	0.149	-61.61	-0.844	-0.023
Appointed comm.	0.044	0.346	-0.049	-285.46	-1.079	-0.028
Dependent						
Salary	18612.140	3431.767				
Intercept	10418.76					

Multiple Correlation 0.91287

changes in the way the money was allocated. If the other variables in the equation are more fully attended to, the variables not attended to would (theoretically) tend to move toward zero. In a sense, that might be construed to mean what equity is about. If sex did not play a direct part in salary allocation (as it appears to have been in the past), then sex differences might occur because of differences in background, or differences in outcomes (teaching, research and service). This does not indicate that these other variables need not be addressed in an equity sense either. For example, the regression coefficients for computer science (2438.64) and mathematics (-303.86) would indicate that vis-a-vis their colleagues in computer science, members of the mathematics department are underpaid $\$2,438.64 + \$303.86 = \$2,742.50$. And of course, everyone would like to achieve equality with the Law School. On the other hand, publications, with a regression coefficient of 8.93 which translates into \$89.80 for every article published in a national journal or international journal might make the effort seem monetarily unworthy of the task. And to be "charged" \$38.80 for every year served on an elective committee seems obscene.

Salary is Not the Only Inequity

Far more important than salary considerations are other areas in comparing women and men faculty. Perhaps the most obvious in higher education is the low number of women faculty members. If .855 (or 85.5%) of the faculty are men, then only 14.5% are women at the University of North Dakota. While this circumstance (low proportion of women faculty members) is quite common in higher education, its commonness appears to have little justification. Unfortunately, much of this inequity appears to be a part of the demographics of American society. While it might be true that present hiring practices are not reasonably fair, it is equally true that employment opportunities in higher education are less favorable for recent graduates than for most of the past three decades. Since women have most recently been graduating with doctorates in larger proportions in most disciplines, these new graduates have not had available the same opportunities that doctoral graduates had 10-15 years ago, when the doctoral graduates were more likely to be men. Because the late sixties and early seventies was a boom period for higher education, the present slowdown, and in some cases, retrenchment, seems to be being borne unfairly by women graduates. Further, no boom periods appear on the immediate horizon in higher education. If anything, recent trends might be indicative of serious retrenchment, due both to a somewhat smaller number of available high school graduates, the probable drop

in college loans from 1980-81 and the fiscal difficulties already appearing in isolated states in funding for higher education (notably Michigan and Idaho, where tenured faculty members are being released). Will women and minorities be the first to be released in such a retrenchment phase?

Thus an area that should be subjected to a statistical analysis is the hiring or firing of faculty and staff. When hiring is to be done, the hiring process should employ women at least in the same proportion that they appear in the qualified pool; when retrenchment occurs, the retrenchment should not shrink the proportion of female faculty.

Other Areas of Interest to Consider in a Statistics Course

It has been reported that men do better than women on measures of spatial relations, and that these differences are due to genetic differences between the sexes, in particular the differences in the ways that men and women's brains process information. Because males presumably become brain dominant at an earlier age than females, the males will perform better on measures of spatial relations.⁹ If these assertions are correct, it would mean that those tasks which are spatially related may be less likely to be performed well by females, since males are genetically better suited to these tasks. In three concurrent studies, junior high school students,¹⁰ high school students,¹¹ and university students¹² were cross-classified by sex and handedness. No significant differences were found for either sex or handedness on spatial relations using the Minnesota Paper Form Board Test. In that each sample contained 100 or more students, it seems unlikely that the differences are large enough to attribute a genetic effect to them; though non-significant, the highest mean scores were obtained by females. The lack of difference within or across sexes regarding handedness also reduces the likelihood of a genetic effect, since right-handed males tend to be more brain dominant than left-handed males; the lack of differences suggests that the degree of dominance is not particularly relevant.

There are many other areas that can be addressed directly affecting women that can be tested in a first course in statistics. It has been asserted that women publish significantly less often than men, and thus lack success in promotions and salary. Williams showed that the mean research productivity for women slightly (but non-significantly) exceeded that of men.¹³ Another myth shattered. It has also been asserted that students find women teachers to be less effective than men; in the same study, this myth also went

the way of the dodo bird. Some myths are actually reversed from reality. The opinion seemed to be strongly held that women were under-represented on important decision making bodies and in particular, they were under-represented on senate committees. See Table 3.

Table 3. Mean Number of Years as a Member of Senate Committees by Sex for 1967 - 78 (N=304)¹⁴

Year	Women (N = 40)	Men (N = 264)	t
1967-68	.10	.20	-1.28
1968-69	.23	.29	.50
1969-70	.08	.19	-1.44
1970-71	.05	.14	-1.56
1971-72	.05	.15	-1.76
1972-73	.15	.21	-.74
1973-74	.26	.18	.99
1974-75	.41	.18	2.89 p<.01
1975-76	.41	.20	2.51 p<.05
1976-77	.54	.26	2.91 p<.01
1977-78	.49	.30	1.89

The inferences that could be made from Table 3 are that, up to 1972-73, the proportion of women on senate committees was slightly (but non-significantly) lower than men; from that point on, women were more likely to be represented on a senate committee. Perhaps a fairer complaint is that women are being overworked, not under-represented.

Other Areas of Interest to Women

Perhaps one of the more rewarding experiences in a statistics class for student and instructor alike are analyzing data collected by the student on whatever subject interests her and going through this process with the entire class. Women students' interests are far more wide than the area of women's studies. A woman biologist can just as well be interested in the study of kangaroo rats or doing time budget studies of the prairie chicken. A speech pathologist is interested in the performance of both males and females. Perhaps this is one measure of success for women; when they feel they are more interested in issues of their specific area of study than in women's issues per se, they are on the road to self-fulfillment as persons rather than as females.

FOOTNOTES

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Some theoretical applications of women's scholarship in business and journalism are outlined by faculty members in their fields at the University of North Dakota: W. Fred Lawrence, Zena Beth McGlashan, and Scot A. Stradley.

SOME MILESTONES ON THE ROAD TO
EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY FOR WOMEN

W. Fred Lawrence

Introduction

The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of men toward women, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her. . . .

Elizabeth Cady Stanton
Declaration of Sentiments
Seneca Falls Convention, 1848

The Declaration of Independence states that "all men are created equal" but some of its signers owned slaves. Obviously, the founding fathers did not feel that blacks were "created equal" or, as evidenced by the differential treatment accorded them, that women were either.

The differential treatment of women in the American labor force is a direct result of English laws passed in the 18th and 19th centuries. Those laws were passed because some labor practices of the time were felt by social reformers to be detrimental to, and abusive of, women working in the mines and factories of Industrial Revolution England. When similar abuses occurred in the United States during the American Industrial Revolution several states immediately passed laws to protect women and, eventually, virtually all states passed such laws.¹ The laws were challenged over the years but were generally upheld by the courts. However, in contrast to contemporary behavior, the laws were often challenged by employers who wanted to treat the sexes "equally" but who had run afoul of the authorities because of complaints filed by women who objected to equal treatment, i.e., by women who desired the differential treatment required by the laws.

As is well known, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibits sex discrimination in the work-place. That prohibition is a reversal of virtually all historical and legal precedent. The events which led first to the creation of

sexually discriminatory labor laws and practices and then to the reversal are felt to be of interest to those involved with women's studies. Accordingly, the purpose of this paper is to recount some of the more significant of those events, and to furnish details which have not been widely reported heretofore. Interpretations, judgments regarding the influence which the events should have on current labor laws and practices, etc., are generally left to the reader.

Our English Heritage

It was necessity, not malice, that led early entrepreneurs to employ domestic servants, women, children, parish paupers, displaced farmers, and anyone else they could obtain.²

Aside from a possible exception or two in the dim past, widespread concern with job-related sex discrimination is a relatively recent phenomenon, traceable to the Industrial Revolution which began in England in the latter half of the 18th century. As one author described it:

A spirit of innovation led to inventions, inventions led to factories, and factories led to a need for direction and organization. The expanded market called for more workers," (emphasis added) "more machines, and a larger production scale on a regular basis."³

As would be expected, the transformation from an essentially agrarian society to an industrial society was not accomplished without problems. One of the problems facing the early English factory owner (who usually managed the factory as well) was the shortage of supervisory talent. There were no generalized management principles which could be learned and, in the early days at least, experienced supervisors were virtually non-existent.⁴

An even greater problem was a general shortage of labor, skilled and unskilled. Workers had to be recruited from farms and this created serious social problems as they tried to adjust to both the factory discipline required for efficiency and the pressures of city living.⁵

In spite of the labor shortage, unemployment was also a problem. Some of it resulted from the lack of skills required for factory work but much of it was due to the refusal of many farm-trained workers to accept factory life. If people had the requisite skills, or if they were willing

to learn the skills, jobs were readily available.

It is worth noting that the institutions of child and female labor were not unique to the Industrial Revolution. Children and women were essential to the feudal system and later, to the domestic system.⁶ Further, it has been reported that early mythology depicted women in working roles and commercial endeavors.⁷ Notwithstanding any earlier situations and attitudes, the long hours, low wages, poor working conditions, harsh disciplinary methods, and the "temptations and opportunities" resulting from males and females being present in the same workshops, led to concern by English social reformers with the lot of women in the work force.⁸

That concern was transformed into law after Parliamentary inquiries revealed employment conditions, and social conditions arising therefrom, which are almost incomprehensible today.⁹ For example, men and women worked together in coal mines which had little light and ventilation. Men frequently worked naked to keep cool and some women worked naked from the waist up for the same reason. One job performed by women carried the title of "drawer." The job required a woman to wear a waist belt which was attached by a chain to a sled-like device. A heavy load of coal was placed on the sled and each woman "drew" her load outside by walking up a steep incline dragging the sled behind her. Sometimes the tunnels were too small to permit walking and in that case the woman had to crawl on her hands and knees.¹⁰ The typical work week was at least 60 hours long. That some English sociologists of the time found such conditions intolerable and pressed for differential legal treatment of the sexes in employment is not difficult to understand.

That pressure eventually resulted in passage of the Mines Act of 1842 which prohibited females of any age and boys under the age of 13 from working in the mines. Objections to the act's passage were said to be minimal.¹¹ After the passage of the first mines act (four more were passed in the period from 1860 to 1887) the restrictions on female workers were extended in 1847 to the factories via the Act to Limit the Hours of Labour of Young Persons and Females in Factories.¹² With the possible exception noted above, laws to restrict working women were not universally supported but those favoring them had their way. Compliance with the laws was monitored through a system of inspectors, employed by the government, many of whom were women.¹³

The precedent for treating women differently under the law apparently already existed in England, according to Blackstone. In marriage, the husband and wife were considered a single legal person in most respects, the legal

existence of the wife being incorporated or consolidated into that of the husband.¹⁴ Any inequities suffered by the wife were intended for her protection and benefit, as females were reportedly favored by the laws of England.¹⁵ More to the point of employment, even though all single men between the ages of 12 and 60, and married men under 30, not having any visible means of support could be compelled by law to become domestic servants, only single women between the ages of 12 and 40 could be similarly compelled.¹⁶

Some convey the impression that Blackstone wrote the laws of England and that he is personally responsible for the way in which women were treated under those laws.¹⁷ This does not appear to be the case. His Commentaries were written from lectures he delivered at Oxford in the early to mid-1700s. His writings were reportedly motivated by a desire to stop his students from selling their lecture notes to the public because he thought those notes might, at the least, be inaccurate.¹⁸ His lectures, while undoubtedly containing opinions, were based on research into legal decisions and Parliamentary Acts. Therefore, if his writings reflect a male chauvinist attitude it would appear that it is primarily because the laws of England reflected that attitude.

The Legalization of Sex Discrimination In Employment

Man is, or should be, woman's protector and defender. . . . The paramount destiny and mission of woman are to fulfill the noble and benign offices of wife and mother. This is the law of the Creator. And the rules of civil society must be adapted to the general constitution of things, and cannot be based upon exceptional cases.

Justice Bradley
U.S. Supreme Court, 1872

The Industrial Revolution in the United States followed that in England by about 50 years. There is general agreement that the American factory system, while bad enough, contained fewer evils than the English system. This has been credited to a variety of factors including alternative employment opportunities on the Western frontier, absence of a Poor Law, greater adaptability inherent in the American worker, lower American experience with the guild system, and greater concern for the workers by the American factory owner.¹⁹ Safeguarding the morals of

female factory workers was an early American concern and at least a few employers furnished boarding houses for their female workers, complete with housemothers and strict rules of conduct.²⁰

As a result of the factory system's shortcomings and the strong early influence of English law on American law, it is not surprising that during the 19th and early 20th centuries legislatures of various states enacted laws which differentiated between men and women insofar as employment rights were concerned.²¹ The laws usually were addressed to the issues of hours and pay for women, specifying a maximum for the former and a minimum for the latter.

There is a difference of opinion among contemporary authors about the motivation behind those laws. Some feel that male workers, acting through their unions, promoted the legislation to protect their own jobs and pay scales.²² Support for this position arises from the fact that primarily only those states which were highly industrialized, and hence highly unionized, originally passed such laws. However, other authors (and the language of many of the court decisions arising from cases testing the laws substantiates this contention) feel that the laws were passed out of a sincere desire to protect women in the work force. Protection was deemed necessary because women were thought to be at an economic disadvantage, i.e., a woman worked only because she lacked a man to support her or her man's support was inadequate. Therefore, because of her "desperate" situation, she was willing to endure whatever abuses an employer might impose upon her.²³ This contention is further supported by noting that in many cases corporations and individual employers fought against passage or enforcement of the laws.²⁴

Whatever the motivation behind the state laws, on September 4, 1905, an event occurred in Portland, Oregon, which was to eventually result in the constitutional justification for differentiating between the sexes in employment. On that date Mr. Joe Haselbock, superintendent of the Grand Laundry, required Mrs. E. Gotcher to work more than 10 hours, a violation of an Oregon law passed in 1903. Mrs. Gotcher complained to the authorities and Mr. Curt Muller, the laundry's owner, was tried and convicted of violating the state law. His punishment was a \$10 fine.²⁵ Muller appealed to the Oregon Supreme Court, stating that the Oregon law violated the 14th amendment to the U.S. Constitution as well as certain sections of the Oregon constitution.

In considering the case, the Oregon Supreme Court relied heavily on reasoning previously expressed by the Nebraska and Washington Supreme courts in upholding similar laws in their states. Those courts found that their states could regulate working conditions for women in the interest of health, public welfare, and public morals.^{26,27}

Not every court of the time held to the view expressed by those two. The Oregon court took notice of a case in which the Illinois Supreme Court had, in 1895, ruled unconstitutional a similar Illinois statute enacted in 1893.²⁸ The Oregon court went on to say, however, that the Illinois court's decision was ", . . borne down by the weight of authority and sound reason." Needless to say, the Oregon Supreme Court upheld the Oregon statute's constitutionality and refused to overturn Muller's conviction.²⁹

Lest the foregoing be misleading regarding Muller's motives it should be understood that he was not attempting to secure equal employment rights for women as a matter of principle but rather, was concerned that the legislation prevented him from setting his own conditions of employment, i.e., that the law usurped his constitutional right to contract with employees. Muller, if nothing else, was persistent; he appealed the Oregon court's decision to the United States Supreme Court.

In the historic case, Muller v. State of Oregon, the Supreme Court decided on February 24, 1908, that the Oregon law was constitutional. Even more important, however, were the reasons given for the decision as those reasons formed the legal rationale for discriminating against women in employment until such discrimination was rendered illegal by the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

In defending the State of Oregon, Mr. Louis D. Brandeis filed a "very copious collection" of information regarding the legislative history of sex discrimination in employment laws and expert opinions relevant to the issue. He was reportedly very capably assisted in preparing the brief by Josephine Goldmark.³⁰

On the matter of laws restricting the hours which women could work, Mr. Brandeis submitted extracts from reports of more than 90 committees, bureaus of statistics, commissioners of hygiene, and inspectors of factories, foreign and domestic, to the effect that long hours of labor were dangerous for women, primarily because of their physical "organization." Faced with this mass of data, the Court said:³¹

That woman's physical structure and the performance of maternal functions place her at a disadvantage in the struggle for subsistence is obvious. This is especially true when the burdens of motherhood are upon her. Even when they are not, by abundant testimony of the medical fraternity continuance for a long time on her feet at work, repeating this from day to day, tends to injurious effects upon the body, and, as healthy mothers are essential to vigorous offspring, the physical well-being of woman becomes an object of public interest and care in order to preserve the strength and vigor of the race.

Later, the court added:

. . . even with . . . the consequent increase of capacity for business affairs it is still true that in the struggle for subsistence she is not an equal competitor with her brother.

Recognizing that the limitations on woman's personal and contractual rights might someday be removed, the Court went on to say:

. . . there is that in her disposition and habits of life which will operate against a full assertion of those rights. She will still be where some legislation to protect her seems necessary to secure a real equality of right. Doubtless there are individual exceptions, and there are many respects in which she has an advantage over him; but looking at it from the viewpoint of the effort to maintain an independent position in life, she is not upon an equality. Differentiated by these matters from the other sex, she is properly placed in a class by herself, and legislation designed for her protection may be sustained, even when like legislation is not necessary for men, and could not be sustained."

The Court noted it had earlier held that a law restricting the hours of employment for men was unconstitutional but added that such a law was not necessarily unconstitutional with respect to women because of the difference between the sexes.³²

By contemporary standards, this was a blatantly sexist decision but it should be recalled that such feelings were not universal. The Illinois Supreme Court's words

from Ritchie,³³ decided almost 13 years earlier, are a forceful statement of a contrary position:

. . . inasmuch as sex is no bar, under the Constitution and law, to the endowment of women with the fundamental and inalienable rights of liberty and property, which include the right to make her own contracts, the mere fact of sex will not justify the legislature in putting forth the police power of the state for the purpose of limiting her exercise of those rights, unless the courts are able to see that there is some fair, just, and reasonable connection between such limitation and the public health, safety, or welfare proposed to be secured by it. . . . There is no reasonable ground for fixing upon eight hours in one day as the limit within which woman can work without injury to her physique and beyond which, if she work, injury will necessarily follow.³⁴

Notwithstanding this legal opinion, the constitutionality of sex-based discriminatory labor legislation and by implication, the legality of sex-based discriminatory labor practices, was affirmed by the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in Muller. That decision was reached only about 40 years after the passage of federal racial anti-discrimination laws in 1866 and 1870.³⁵

In the period from 1914 to 1937 the U.S. Supreme Court heard 11 cases which involved the issue of sex discrimination in employment.³⁶ The net effect of the Court's rulings was that laws regulating the hours and wages for women workers were constitutional.

Such was the legal situation regarding sex discrimination in employment immediately prior to World War II.

The Prohibition of Sex Discrimination in Employment

Women's lib took root in fecund soil: There aren't many things that men do nowadays that woman can't do with equal competence. Nobody cared much about equal opportunities for clearing the wilderness or taming the West or putting the boot to the Nazis.

Playboy
September, 1974

While opposition to laws requiring differential employment treatment of the sexes was generally weak in the U.S., as it was in England, forces were at work which would eventually strengthen that opposition.

When seriously launched in 1848 the women's suffrage movement did not make equal employment treatment of the sexes one of its goals. However, it contributed to that goal to the extent that such treatment became more of a possibility with the passage of the 19th amendment to the U.S. Constitution on August 27, 1920.³⁷ In July, 1918, one year and three months after the United States entered World War I, the Women in Industry Service was organized within the Bureau of Labor.³⁸ Women were for the first time entering the labor force in large numbers because 250,000 men per month were leaving the force for military service.³⁹ The W.I.S. was organized because it was clear to the lawmakers that the federal government had to provide for the recruitment, health, and efficiency of those women who were unaccustomed to working in industry.⁴⁰ As in the earlier court cases, the concern was not so much with equal employment treatment of the sexes as with insuring that needs peculiar to women were met, and assuring that women were protected from harsh treatment and working conditions.⁴¹

On June 5, 1920, just two months before ratification of the 19th amendment and less than two years after the end of World War I, the Service was perpetuated by act of Congress, its name being changed to the Women's Bureau. The purpose of the Bureau was (and is) to formulate standards and policies which shall promote the welfare of working women, improve their working conditions, increase their efficiency, and advance their opportunities for profitable employment. It has no direct enforcement powers but is only to conduct investigations and issue reports within its area of responsibility. By law, the Director of the Women's Bureau must be a woman.⁴³ As in many things political the potential political profit in supporting the act was not lost on the Congress. Even many opposed to the act, mindful of the impending ratification of the 19th amendment, were careful to point out that their opposition was not based on chauvinistic feelings but on other factors, e.g., the cost of operating the Bureau, the incompetence of the Secretary of Labor, etc.⁴⁴

After World War I the United States entered the era popularly known as the Roaring 20s and the concept of what constituted acceptable female behavior began to undergo modification.⁴⁵ In 1923, a joint resolution calling for an equal rights amendment was introduced in Congress.⁴⁶

However, during the economic depression following the 1929 stock market crash little occurred in the area of women's employment rights, perhaps because people were grateful for employment under any circumstance and were not too concerned that the treatment they received might not be exactly equitable. In fact, the women's employment rights cause was probably set back by the Depression because of the widely-held belief that married women should not be permitted to work while large numbers of married men were unemployed.

By 1938, however, an economic recovery of sorts had begun and one of a series of New Deal labor acts, the Fair Labor Standards Act, became law.⁴⁷ This act, while specifying minimum wage and maximum hour requirements in general, did not originally impose any discrimination prohibitions, sex or otherwise.

The period during World War II is relatively uneventful from the legal viewpoint on the matter of sex discrimination in employment. This can possibly be explained by the fact that the main concern during this period was with winning the war and that women were in great demand by industry, even for jobs traditionally performed by men. Further, the federal government took steps to insure that women were treated fairly in any plant possessing a defense contract through the equal pay for women policy promulgated and administered by the War Labor Board.⁴⁸

While things were quiet in the sex discrimination arena during World War II such was not the case with respect to racial discrimination. In the period from June 25, 1941, through December 18, 1945, four Presidential Executive Orders aimed at employment discrimination based on race, color, creed and national origin were issued. However, none of those orders mentioned sex discrimination.

As in the period after World War I, the period at the end of World War II saw the women's movement gain renewed impetus. In 1945, a joint resolution was again introduced in Congress proposing an amendment to the Constitution to insure equal rights for women.⁴⁹ The rationale advanced by its proponents was that for many years women had given unmistakable evidence that they were entitled to equality of opportunity and that society would be greatly benefited if women were permitted to exercise their full rights. In addition, the performance of women during the war had amply verified their ability to perform and the situation had sharply demonstrated the extent to which they were discriminated against. As is well known, the proposed amendment still has not been ratified by the requisite number of states.

On the specific topic of employment, a bill was

introduced on June 21, 1945, providing for equal pay for equal work.⁵⁰ However, this concept was not embodied into federal law until passage of the Equal Pay Act of 1963.

In 1948 the Supreme Court confirmed that the traditional attitudes regarding women still prevailed. In one of the more interesting examples of judicial logic the Court found constitutional a Michigan law which prohibited a woman from working as a bartender or barmaid, even if she owned the bar, unless she were the wife or daughter of the owner.⁵¹ The Court's presumption was that the presence of the spouse would prevent an undesirable moral condition which would exist in his absence (presumably also the spouse would be male, this being before the era of homosexual marriages). The justification for the decision had its basis in the legitimate right of the legislature to concern itself with moral and social problems which were obvious in the situation prohibited.⁵² However, by 1970, a Federal District court had criticized the rationale in this case, saying that "... social mores have not stood still since ... 1948 ..." and that "Shakespeare's immortal phrase, 'Frailty, thy name is woman'" was no longer valid.⁵³

In the period from January 1, 1946 to the inauguration of John F. Kennedy as President in 1960, twelve Presidential Executive Orders relating to employment discrimination were issued. As before, none of the orders addressed the issue of sex discrimination in employment. On the legislative side, Congress had not passed a law dealing with discrimination since 1870.

The election of John F. Kennedy as President ushered in a new era with respect to anti-discrimination efforts. The Kennedy administration was strongly committed to eliminating racial discrimination and the election was won primarily because of the high percentage of the black vote he received, at least partially as a result of campaign promises on this issue.⁵⁴

On March 6, 1961, less than two months after his inauguration, President Kennedy issued Executive Order No. 10925 which established the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity.⁵⁵ The Committee was given the power to impose sanctions (including termination of contracts) on government contractors who violated the non-discrimination clause which had been required in all government contracts since June 25, 1941. Further, that clause was amended by the order to include the statement: "The Contractor will take affirmative action to ensure the applicants are employed, and that employees are treated during

employment, without regard to their race, creed, color, or national origin." This is the first official use of the affirmative action phraseology and, in view of subsequent and continuing interpretations of its meaning, was a most important event.

On December 14, 1961, Executive Order No. 10980 established the President's Commission on the Status of Women.⁵⁶ That was the first order in which women were identified as suffering discrimination in employment, both government and private. The predominately female Commission was to review progress and make recommendations for constructive action with regard to sex discrimination in federal employment, in labor laws, in laws dealing with political, civil, and property rights, and family relations, and to look into the possibility of creating new services for women (e.g., day care centers, vocational training programs, etc.). The underlying rationale of that order was also extremely important as a branch of the federal government, for the first time, recognized that equal treatment of women was more important than protection.

As mentioned earlier, the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 did not originally include discrimination prohibitions of any kind. However, in 1963 that Act was amended by the Equal Pay Act to prohibit wage discrimination between the sexes except for discrimination due to:⁵⁷

1. A seniority system,
2. A merit system,
3. Systems which measure earnings by quantity or quality of production,
4. Any factor other than sex.

The stated purpose for introducing Senate Bill 1409, which eventually became the Equal Pay Act, was to eliminate discriminatory wage structures from those many segments of American industry which operated on an ancient but outmoded belief that a man, because of his role in society, should be paid more than a woman even though his duties were the same. The intended result of the bill was to eliminate implementation of the outmoded belief and to reward equal work with equal wages.⁵⁸

The Equal Pay Act was the first Congressional act which recognized equity as a factor in the employment treatment of women. It did not invalidate state maximum hours

or minimum wage "protectionist" laws as applying to women. Failure to comply constitutes an unfair labor practice under the terms of the 1938 act and is punishable in accordance with the terms of that act. It is this last feature that enabled Senate Bill 1409 to pass when similar legislation advocating equal pay for equal work had failed.⁵⁹ There was great opposition within Congress to the other bills on this subject because they invariably called for the creation of some sort of new federal enforcement or compliance agency, whereas this bill did not.

On June 22, 1963, Executive Order No. 11114 extended the authority of the President's Equal Employment Opportunity Committee.⁶⁰ The order added the non-discrimination contract clause requirement to construction contracts written for programs receiving federal assistance. Previously, the clause was required only in contracts fully funded by the federal government.

On November 1, 1963, just prior to his assassination and just five months after passage of the Equal Pay Act, President Kennedy issued Executive Order No. 11126.⁶¹ This order was issued as a result of the report made by the Commission on the Status of Women. The order established a committee and a citizens' council for advancing the status of women. The committee, called the Interdepartmental Committee on the Status of Women, was composed of the Secretaries of Labor, State, Defense, Agriculture, Commerce, HEW, the Director of the Civil Service Commission, and the Attorney General. In addition, the Director of the Women's Bureau of the Labor Department was named Executive Vice-Chairman (later, on July 28, 1964, by Executive Order No. 11162, the Postmaster General was added to the committee). The main functions of this committee were to review and evaluate the progress of federal agencies in advancing the status of women and to encourage research on factors affecting the status of women in several areas, including employment. The council, called the Citizens' Advisory Council on the Status of Women, was to provide the committee with citizen input and to assist the committee as required.

The truly landmark legislation, insofar as women's employment rights are concerned, is the Civil Rights Act of 1964.⁶² The act consists of eleven sections, each headed by a title which generally describes the topic to which the section is addressed (hence the continual references to this or that "Title" in the press and elsewhere). Of interest is the fact that not all of the sections which deal with discrimination in general originally prohibited sex discrimination, e.g., Titles II, III, IV, and VI.

As has been noted by several, sex discrimination prohibitions were originally offered in a proposed amendment to Title VII (Equal Employment Opportunity) made at the last minute by a Virginia representative in an alleged attempt to scuttle the entire Title.⁶³ To further cloud the issue, the head of the Department of Labor's Women's Bureau, Esther Peterson, recommended that sex prohibitions not be added to the Civil Rights Act.⁶⁴ Her recommendation was based on the conclusion reached by the President's Commission on the Status of Women in its report, American Women, regarding inclusion of sex prohibitions in Executive Order No. 10925. That conclusion was:⁶⁵

We are aware that this order could be expanded to forbid discrimination based on sex. But discrimination based on sex, the Commission believes, involves problems sufficiently different from discrimination based on the other factors listed (race, color, creed, or national origin) (explanation added) to make separate treatment preferable.

Notwithstanding the Congressman's alleged motivation, the lack of serious Congressional inquiry, Mrs. Peterson's recommendations, or the year-earlier Congressional opposition to a new federal compliance agency, sex prohibitions were added to Title VII and the act received Congressional approval on July 2, 1964.

Congress's behavior is easier to understand if one recalls the mood of the majority in the nation following President Kennedy's assassination, as expressed through the renaming of historic sites and governmental facilities in his honor and the resolve on the part of some to implement all of his social programs in a final tribute to his memory.⁶⁶ It has been speculated that the assassination was a major factor in the lopsided victory of the liberal Lyndon B. Johnson over the conservative Barry M. Goldwater in the 1964 Presidential election.

Even after passage of the 1964 act, President Johnson issued an executive order on September 24, 1965, dealing with employment discrimination by the federal government, by government contractors and their subcontractors, and in programs receiving federal assistance, which did not include prohibitions against sex-based employment discrimination.⁶⁷ It was not until October 13, 1967, that the order was amended to include sex discrimination prohibitions.⁶⁸ A later executive order on the subject of sex discrimination in employment was issued on August 8, 1968, and it established an affirmative program of equal employment opportunity

within the federal government for race, creed, color, sex, and national origin.⁶⁹

Although the number of cases filed annually with the EEOC on the matter of employment discrimination had grown to 22,920 in 1971, there was a growing feeling in Congress that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was not accomplishing enough and that what was being accomplished was taking too long.⁷⁰ Accordingly, Congress passed the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972 on March 24, 1972. Briefly, the effect of the act is to amend the 1964 act to empower the EEOC to bring suit on behalf of aggrieved individuals rather than requiring such individuals to bring suit at their own expense.

Conclusion

. . . We must recognize that people's attitudes cannot be changed by laws alone. There still exist elusive prejudices born of mores and customs that stand in the way of progress for women. We must do all that we can to overcome these barriers against what is fair and right.

Richard M. Nixon
August 16, 1973

While it was stated at the outset that interpretations would be left to the reader two concepts uncovered in self-styled feminist literature are worthy of a comment or two insofar as they relate to this paper. First is the contention that male historians have generally ignored women out of sexism,⁷¹ and second is the charge that men are solely or primarily responsible for the employment situation women find themselves in today.⁷²

On the historical issue the criticism appears to be well founded if one confines the criticism to the issue of ignoring women in history textbooks. For example, the historical summary presented here was unavailable in any one source, or even a few sources, at the time the major research for this paper was conducted. On the other hand the information was available and easily obtained. Why the subject has not been addressed holistically from a historical perspective cannot be readily ascertained. However, to accept sexism as the sole explanation would appear to be a bit simplistic; more practical and mundane reasons may also be involved.

While men have undeniably played a key role in

maintaining job segregation by sex, the role played by women in this process has probably not been fully appreciated. That perceptual shortcoming may be partially due to the invisibility of women in history textbooks, alluded to above. Clearly, however, women played a not-inconsequential role in creating sexually discriminatory employment practices as well as in creating and enforcing laws requiring sex discrimination in employment. And just as clearly, women are playing a significant role in the current drive to eliminate sex discrimination in employment, as well as in the movement which opposes that drive.

The journey along the road to equal employment treatment of the sexes is obviously not over. Scarcely a day passes in which the media do not report a new development of some sort. However, the important legislative requirements were established with the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and subsequent amendments. Resolution of disputes and interpretations of the Act are now primarily in the hands of the federal judiciary. Passage of the ERA could prove to be the final milestone on the road.

FOOTNOTES

1. State Hours Laws for Women's Bureau Publication 277, 1961, 1.
2. Wren, D., The Evolution of Management Thought, 1972, 48.
3. Ibid., 41.
4. Ibid., 44.
5. Ibid., 46-47.
6. Cook-Taylor, R., Introduction to a History of the Factory System, 1886, 402.
7. Athanassiades, J., "Myths of Women in Management: What Every Businessman Ought to Know About Women But May Be Afraid to Ask." Atlanta Economic Review, May-June 1975, 4-9.
8. Wrep, op. cit., 59.
9. Pike, E., Hard Times: Human Documents of the Industrial Revolution, 1966, 219-303.
10. Ibid., 245-278.
11. Hutchins, B. and Harrison, A., A History of Factory Legislation, 1966, 81.
12. Ibid., 279.
13. Pike, op. cit., 219-303.
14. Blackstone, W., Commentaries on the Laws of England, 1765, Book the First, 430.
15. Ibid., 443.
16. Ibid., 413.
17. For example, see Beard, M., On Understanding Women, 1931, 22.

18. Blackstone, op. cit., iii.
19. Wren, op. cit., 83.
20. Cochran, T., and Miller, W. The Age of Enterprise, 1961, 19.
21. The first enforceable law setting maximum hours for women in employment was passed in Massachusetts in 1879. By 1960, 46 states had laws which in some way restricted the hours women could work. Source: State Hours Laws for Women, Women's Bureau Publication 277, 1961, 1.
22. Friedman, L., A History of American Law, 1973, 491-493.
23. Thomas, N., Human Exploitation, 1934, 215-216, and Mitchell, B. and Mitchell, L., American Economic History, 1947, 425-428.
24. Both motivational theories are obviously rooted in the common belief that women are at a disadvantage in the work force and will be exploited by employers.
25. Muller v. Oregon, 52 L.Ed. 554.
26. Wenham v. State, 91 N.W. 424.
27. State v. Buchanan, 70 Pac. 54.
28. Ritchie v. People, 40 N.E. 454.
29. State v. Muller, 85 Pac. 855.
30. Watkins, G. and Dodd, P., Labor Problems, 1940, 1028.
31. Muller v. Oregon, op. cit., 556.
32. The Court was referring to its decision in Lochner v. New York, 25 S. Ct. 539.
33. Ritchie v. People, op. cit.
34. However, in 1910 the Illinois Supreme Court stated that there was reasonable ground for fixing upon ten hours as the work day limit for women. See W. C. Ritchie & Co. v. Wayman, 91 N.E. 695. Although not expressly stated, it appears this is the same Ritchie of the 1895 case.

35. The 1866 Act, titled, "An Act to Protect all Persons in the United States in their Civil Rights, and Furnish the Means of their Vindication," was passed on April 9, 1866, over the veto of President Johnson. See 14 Stat. 27. The 1870 Act was passed on May 31, 1870, and was entitled, "An Act to Enforce the Right of Citizens of the United States to Vote in the Several States of the Union, and for Other Purposes." See 16 Stat. 140.
36. From an annotation by Director, J., "Sex Discrimination-- Supreme Court Cases" in 27 U.S. 935. The cases cited, in order, are:
Hawley v. Walker, 232 U.S. 718
Riley v. Massachusetts, 232 U.S. 271
Bosley v. McLaughlin, 236 U.S. 385
Miller v. Wilson, 236 U.S. 373
Stettler v. O'Hara, 243 U.S. 629
Adkins v. Children's Hospital, 261 U.S. 525
Radice v. New York, 264 U.S. 292
Murphy v. Sardell, 269 U.S. 530
Donham v. West Nelson Mfg. Co., 273 U.S. 657
Morehead v. New York, 298 U.S. 587
West Coast Hotel v. Parrish, 300 U.S. 379
37. Harper, I., History of Women Suffrage, 1969, Vol. V., xxiv.
38. U.S. Congressional Record, Vol. 59, Part 6, 5877.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid.
42. Public Law 259, 41 Stat. 987.
43. Ibid.
44. U.S. Congressional Record, op. cit., 5873-5878.
45. Morison, S., The Oxford History of the American People, 1965, 904-909.
46. U.S. Congressional Record, Vol. 65, Part 1, 150.
47. Public Law 718, 52 Stat. 1060.
48. House Report No. 309, U.S. Code Congressional and Administrative News 1963, 687.

49. U.S. Congressional Record, Vol. 91, Part 3, 4100.
50. U.S. Congressional Record, Vol. 91, Part 5, 6411.
51. Goessaert v. Cleary, 335 U.S. 464.
52. See remarks of Congresswoman Griffiths, U.S. Congressional Record, Vol. 110, Part 2, 2580.
53. Seidenberg v. McSorley's Old Ale House, Inc., 317 F. Supp. 593.
54. White, T., The Making of the President 1960, 1961, 354.
55. "Title 3--The President," 3 C.F.R., 1959-1963 Compilation, 448-454.
56. 3 C.F.R., op. cit., 500-501.
57. Public Law 88-38, 77 Stat. 56.
58. U.S. Congressional Record, Vol. 109, Part 7, 8914.
59. Ibid., 791-793.
60. 3 C.F.R., op. cit., 774-778.
61. Ibid., 791-793.
62. Public Law 88-352, 78 Stat. 241.
63. The amendment was offered by Representative Smith of Virginia on February 8, 1964. See U.S. Congressional Record, Vol. 110, Part 2, 2577. Among the authors who have noted the alleged motivation are the editors of the Harvard Law Review in "Employment Discrimination and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964," Vol. 84, March 1971, 1167.
64. U.S. Congressional Record, op. cit.
65. Ibid.
66. For example, see the remarks of Senator Mansfield, U.S. Congressional Record, Vol. 110, Part 11, 14508-14509, Senator Pell, 14504, and Senator Prouty, 14508.
67. 3 C.F.R., op. cit., 1964-1965 Compilation, 339-348 (Executive Order No. 11246).

68. 3 C.F.R., op. cit., 1966-1970 Compilation, 684-686 (Executive Order No. 11375).
69. Ibid., 803-805 (Executive Order No. 11478--later amended by Executive Order No. 11590).
70. See remarks of Representative Williams, U.S. Congressional Record, Vol. 118, Part 1, 294.
71. Schmidt, D., and Schmidt, E. "The Invisible Woman: The Historian as a Professional Magician," in Liberating Women's History: Theoretical and Critical Essays, ed. Carol, B., 42-54.
72. Hartmann, H., "Capital, Patriarchy, and Job Segregation," Signs, 140.

NOTES TOWARD A GENERAL THEORY OF
WOMEN IN JOURNALISM HISTORY

Zena Beth McGlashan

The academic response to the most recent rebirth of U.S. feminism¹ has largely been one of patching some mention of women and "their interests" into the existing literature of various disciplines. Sociologist Marcia Westcott has appropriately called this the "upholstery" approach;² that is, if a discipline's "couch" seems shabby by contemporary standards, the solution is to cover it with fabric woven in much the same fashion as the old, but with a few strands of new fiber. To extend Westcott's analogy, even with its recovering, the couch remains the same--same framework, same support system which has served so well for so many years, same comforting familiarity.

Sameness is soothing and expected indeed but lacks challenge. The old ways may comfort but they exclude alternatives which may better serve at present and possibly for the future. Westcott and others have identified this dichotomy in the approaches to and the teaching of various social sciences as "positivism" and alternative constructs. Positivism is predicated on a "reification of the status quo" while those seeking alternatives recognize that human beings' explanations are naturally subjective, that they lie in the way we choose or not choose to see that which we are attempting to explain, probe and evaluate.³

While Westcott's hypothesis is useful in analyzing many areas of several disciplines, the application here is to journalism history and what students enrolled in university courses in journalism history are likely to hear about women, "women's issues," and "women's place" in a profession which ideally reflects a basic national value: freedom of expression.

Primary to this review is the belief that the treatment of women journalists and the kinds of journalism in which they were engaged is largely positivist and that this stance extends to those recent histories inspired by contemporary feminism. Such histories, because they seek to correct past and present omissions and provide fuller information, could be expected to reflect alternative ways of thinking and seeing. Factors which may help explain a

positivist stance on the part of journalism historians are discussed as is the importance of applying a broader, cultural approach to the history of journalism. The problems with the presentation of women in journalism history appear to be only symptomatic of a larger malaise in the way potential journalists are helped to see their profession's past.

The importance of easing journalism history out of its positivist position equates with the importance of the profession it reflects. Because media makers are the "agenda setters" for society--deciding those matters which seem important enough to be told to the public and those which seem not to be--the values which journalists bring to their profession can influence the ways in which consumers of news--the public--think and act. News is a highly subjective human endeavor, the conscious selection of what journalists think society ought to know. Such selections are based on the value structure of the profession incorporating those ideas to which journalists have been exposed and which they have chosen to accept. The ways in which journalists view the past give life to the values of the present and thus help shape the future.

Basic here is acceptance of the idea that the ways in which history is synthesized depend on the values of the historian and the social structure at the time during which a history is compiled.⁴ History is always "a new intellectual synthesis--a constructive act."⁵ And so, if the construction is via old patterns, the results will reflect old value systems.

Clinging to "status quo" historical values can be easily understood. Naturally, we seek succor in the comforting picture of a past populated by "good guys" and "bad guys," a past in which the heroes conquered in the end. Such a past precludes an examination and re-examination of the standards we have set for "goodness" and "badness" and deals in such black and white contrasts that the grays which can cause doubt, ambiguity and discomfort may be excluded. We search the past for heroes because we need heroes for our own personal reinforcement and fulfillment, but we may be failing ourselves and others by failing to vigorously review our standards for that which is considered heroic. Concomitantly, structuring a set of heroes may tempt us to slide over or omit those times when their actions were less than heroic even to the extent of being damaging to goals which we may consider societally beneficial.

In a field as traditionally male-dominated as journalism, what is portrayed as heroic seems too often to be based

on stereotyped "macho" images. For example, too much attention can be paid to war reporting simply because it presents the kind of physical psychological challenge that has been valued over a long period of time. Reporting under fire can appear to be the ultimate of "real" reporting while reporting which attempts, for example, to cover the potential for war doesn't gain as much attention, even from historians. The definition of "public issues" has been a definition skewed to a male world, as is explored later in this essay. This has led to the exclusion and distortion of women and women's issues in journalism history.

Women do have a past in journalism, but largely one of alienation since they were unwelcome, for the most part, in what was viewed as a "man's world." No amount of creative historiography can elevate women journalists in rank, numbers or types of assignments to a position equal to men's; they very clearly were not, just as they are not now. However, women's coverage of "women's issues" and their initiative in carving out careers for themselves, when defined from an alternative rather than positivist stance, can excite as well as dismay. Journalism history provides some fascinating examples of women who were "as good as any man" or better as well as demonstrating that they could be every bit as "wooden-headed" as their male colleagues, to use historian Barbara Tuchman's term.⁶

The portrayal of Rheta Childe Dorr, a writer, reporter, editor and correspondent from about 1900 until the late 1920s, provides an interesting example of the treatment of women journalists and the stories with which they dealt. Dorr was one of the few female journalists of the Progressive Era who sought to perpetuate herself by means of an autobiography. The book, A Woman of Fifty,⁷ is a highly readable account of the stories women could and did cover during those years and the kinds of positions to which they were hired. Dorr identifies the issues and events which were important to her and, as far as she was concerned, to the times: conditions for women in the workforce, efforts to unionize women workers to improve both wages and working conditions, the women's club movement as a force for social reform, the suffrage campaign as a necessary first step toward women's equality, the Russian Revolution and World War I. By her own standards, the women and work issue and her war correspondence were the most important stories she covered.

Using contemporary standards, Dorr did an exemplary job exploring the conditions, pay and expectations of working women in the early years of this century. Her coverage of this issue, first for the New York Evening Post,⁸ and later

for Hampton's magazine and other publications, can today enrich our understanding of the past as well as of the present position of women in the workforce and might serve to help us anticipate possible future conditions and attitudes.

Her war reporting, however, is quite another matter. Dorr covered the events in Russia during those months when the Bolcheviks established themselves as the agents of control who formed the base for the Russia recognized today as a world power. Her understanding and reporting of what was occurring were as dismally ignorant as was that of all the other reporters present, with the possible exception of John Reed.⁹ And, Dorr's "reporting" during World War I quite appropriately has been labeled "propaganda."¹⁰

In view of this appraisal of Dorr's career, examining what students in journalism history classes are likely to hear about Dorr is revealing, both of the status of women and their issues and of what is considered "real" reporting. Dorr's treatment in The Press and America: An Interpretative History of the Mass Media, the most popular text, and in two recent woman-centered histories, Up From the Footnote: A History of Women Journalists and Women in Media: A Documentary Sourcebook demonstrates the positivist stance of journalism history in its present state.¹¹

The Press and America, clearly the bible of the field,¹² was first published in 1954 and has undergone three revisions. As might be expected, the most recent edition by Edwin Emery, one of the original authors, and Michael Emery, mentions more women than the previous editions. Obviously, one reason for the inclusion of more females is in response to feminist protest about exclusion from all areas of academe. And, it should be added, inclusion of more women is a demonstration made in good faith to these requests and in recognition of the validity of the requests.

Another reason, also stemming from the resurgence of feminism, is the increase in research about women journalists, much of which has been published in a relatively new journal, Journalism History.¹³ Established in 1974, the quarterly has provided a better forum for material on women and other minority journalists than has ever been available before. The Emery and Emery text revision closely reflects some of the research on women which has appeared in Journalism History, particularly the articles about women in journalism's past written by communication scholar and historian Marion Marzolf.¹⁴ The articles outline the content of Marzolf's book, Up From the Footnote: A History of Women Journalists, which is only the second comprehensive history of female

participation written in this century; the first was Ishbel Ross' Ladies of the Press, published in 1936.¹⁵

The third book considered here, Women and Media: A Documentary Sourcebook by Maurine Beasley and Sheila Gibbons, is a reader containing short biographical sketches of women journalists as well as information about women's attitudes about mass media, followed by excerpts from representative publications. Arranged chronologically, these selections move from colonial printer Mary Katherine Goddard on through feminist protests about media content and employment in the 1970s.

In The Press and America, the book a journalism student would be most likely to see, Dorr is not mentioned. In Up From the Footnote, she receives considerable attention in a chapter titled "Sob Sister to War Correspondent," in which Marzolf refers to Dorr's Russian reporting but places more emphasis on her covering "the suffrage struggle in America and the start of women's clubs."¹⁶ In the Women in Media reader, Dorr receives a chapter heading, "Rheta Childe Dorr: War Correspondence." A biographical sketch of Dorr and other women who did war reporting is followed by a selection from her book, Inside the Russian Revolution.¹⁷ The excerpt deals with Dorr's accompanying a battalion of Russian women soldiers to the front to face the Germans.

Dorr's omission from The Press and America can be explained on several levels. Primary is that the book's treatment of women plainly fulfills the "upholstery" definition. Mention of women is fragmentary; they are tacked on to a firmly established frame and certainly not interwoven as an element basic to the book.¹⁸ Another factor is one of the most widespread criticisms of the text: that it is too "encyclopedic" in its approach.¹⁹ The book simply bulges and oozes with the names of publications, publishers, editors, correspondents, columnists, reporters, commentators, anchormen, photographers, cartoonists, inventors, politicians, etc. Some names at least must surely be left out; both professors and students sometimes wish the authors had omitted more. Also, at the time of The Press and America's revision, little research on Dorr had been done. Dorr's mention in Marzolf's Up From the Footnote as well as the passages about Dorr in Ross' Ladies of the Press are derived from her biography.

Still another factor weighing against Dorr's inclusion in The Press and America is that she was never employed by one of the publications considered the star media outlets in contemporary thinking. Had she been sent to Russia by the

much revered New York Times, her inclusion in this and other texts would have been much more likely. But Dorr went to Russia as a representative of the New York Mail.

Further, since The Press and America concentrates on tracing the growth of mass media in the nation, basic to the book's definition of "the press" is that it covers stories "of interest to the general public."²⁰ This idea represents a key barrier to women and all other groups who represent minority "publics." If the press gains validity through general circulation publications tailored for and distributed to "the general public," then it follows that history based on such a definition will have a distinctly white, male bias.

Such a bias has not been an intentional attempt to stifle mention of women's participation, achievements and failures but has simply reflected the status quo. Through the long course of history, we have valued power--power as it includes the ability to control populations, command prestige among contemporaries, influence national productivity and geographical eminence. Such power is largely institutional, gained through governmental position, accumulated wealth in a capitalistic system such as ours, and the inclusion into those groups recognized as powerful. Publications intended for mass circulation are such institutions. Also, the content of mass circulation publications is graded, valued and positioned in a hierarchy, with page one being the "real" news. And such "real" stories have dealt and continue to deal overwhelmingly with public institutions which are male-dominated. And, in terms of journalism history, the pages behind page one--including the women's "ghetto," the women's pages which were added to newspapers not to please a portion of the public but to answer demands from advertisers--have received very scant attention.

If we are to construct histories including those barred from such institutional power, a "page one" definition of news as the basis for journalism history simply can no longer serve. Such a way of seeing precludes encompassing the separate publics, of various sizes and degrees of power or lack thereof, which do combine to make a more ideal, egalitarian "general public." Women and others in a minority position, as well as being pushed to back pages of newspapers or excluded altogether, have had consistently to turn to alternative means for getting their ideas into circulation. For example, in 1913, Dorr was asked to begin a weekly magazine to provide extensive information and commentary on the campaign for suffrage. In terms of a prestigious national audience, there is no question that The Suffragist²¹ was "real" journalism but it finds no place in a history where

the press is defined as that which is of interest to the general public since the readership by far included many more women than men.

Women's work and their causes have consistently been less valued than men's--a standard of judgment held by the majority of both sexes.²² And since what we are helped to learn establishes those ideas and activities which we value, both women and men in a journalism history course are more likely to come away valuing those things which fall into the stereotypically male category. This nonconscious bias with its "macho" standard for what journalism scholars choose to see as exemplary is evident in both female and male reconstructions of our past. What women have done which most closely parallels what men did has been the standard for measuring achievement. And, since we are currently seeking female heroes, women's failures probably receive even less attention than those of men.

Such bias helps explain the emphasis on Dorr's war correspondence in a feminist history such as the Beasley and Gibbons reader, Women in Media. While Dorr's reporting from Russia, as earlier noted, did not contribute one measure of understanding to her readers but only helped build the hysteria about the "Red Bogey" which began to surface at the time and still has critical implications for today, the thrilling picture of the brave correspondent traveling with the courageous Russian women soldiers clearly represents heroism as it has been traditionally defined for and by men. From an alternative viewpoint, Dorr demonstrated far more courage when she talked about socialism and equal pay to the 1906 national convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs.

But, old ways of seeing continue to provide today's visions of the past. For example, the term "sob sister" is part of the chapter heading in Up From the Footnote in which Dorr is mentioned. "Sob sister" has long been used to categorize the kinds of stories and the writing style expected from women reporters since the days of Elizabeth "Nellie Bly" Cochrane into the 1930s. The term obviously a loaded one: "sister" and "sob." No male equivalent exists; we do not read of "bawl brothers." If students are to be helped to understand the past, it is vital that they know that "sob sister" was a derisive term invented by serious newspapermen and despised by equally serious newspaperwomen, all of whom believed that this kind of emotional reporting was not worthy of the profession.²³

And yet, the personal, experiential reporting of everyday life was to become, in our time, "new journalism" and

"investigative reporting." Taking an alternative approach to such terms as "sob sister" requires not just explaining the mocking nature of the phrase, but also researching carefully to see just what kinds of stories women were writing and what seems to have been their impact. Women like Dorr loathed the term and were painfully aware of the secondary position in which it placed them. But, they were not unwilling to use the "undercover" techniques which became Cochrane's trademark to get stories which they considered important. For instance, Dorr worked at a variety of jobs for a series of articles on women in the workplace for Everybody's magazine, contributing to the growing awareness of women workers and the conditions under which they labored. On the other hand, Dorr wordlessly acquiesced to the racism inherent in all areas of reform; the reforms on all levels were with few exceptions directed to white Americans and to the efforts toward Americanizing the flood of European immigrants.

Returning to the central question--what are journalism history students likely to hear about Dorr and the women's issues she covered--the response is that they are not likely to encounter her at all. And, if they do, the excitement of "real" reporting via her coverage of the Russian Revolution may obscure the most socially significant stories of her career: women in the workplace and, as Dorr insightfully saw it, suffrage as a first and necessary step in women's long march toward truly equal rights.²⁴ Essentially, Dorr is simply a vehicle for ideas which were important to her and to many other women journalists; the issues are far larger and more meaningful than the person.

While the Marzolf book and the Beasley and Gibbons reader certainly do contain valuable information, unfortunately the chances of either being assigned in conjunction with the Emery and Emery text are slim. It is far more likely that a professor would use Calder M. Pickett's Voices of the Past: Key Documents in the History of American Journalism²⁵ if a supplementary text were chosen. Pickett's approach to dealing with women's issues and stories doesn't even approach the "upholstery" level. In the section encompassing the Progressive Era, he has selected a New York World reporter's story about Elizabeth "Nellie Bly" Cochrane's return from her 'round-the-world trip--"Nellie Bly's honest little feet plumped down on the grimy planking of the Jersey City station. . . ."--not one of the exposes of civic corruption written by Cochrane; a report of Carrie Nation smashing a bar, and Ida Tarbell writing on Standard Oil. Of the three, Tarbell's Standard stories deserve and get--in this and every other journalism history--much attention.

But, this was an institutional story, a man's story; this was "real" news. The strikes of the collar starchers at Troy, New York, the terrible Triangle Shirtwaist Company fire, the enormous struggle for women to gain the vote--apparently none of these or others like them were "key" points in journalism. Perhaps not then, although all these eventually received good press coverage, but they are important stories if a truly equitable past is to be presented to young aspiring journalists.

Marzolf's Up From the Footnote and Beasley and Gibbons' Women in Media are far more likely to be used in a women and the media course; this presents the paradox of women's studies within journalism curricula. If a women and media class is offered, the pressure is eased or even removed to incorporate women journalists, stories and issues into journalism history classes in meaningful ways. The possibility exists that a women's issues class will be considered the way of providing information missing from history and other courses. Another danger is inherent in this situation: information about a substantial portion of society will be provided only to those who are interested in hearing it and not to a general student audience.²⁶ Quite enough material exists to provide a history segment within a women and media course as well as to include women, women's issues, status, achievements and failures within the general history course. But this inclusion of a more balanced, cultural history is dependent upon actively selecting such an approach as a valued part of the curriculum.

Communication scholar James Carey has been in the vanguard of those calling for the alternative, cultural approach to journalism history. "Cultural history is not concerned merely with events but with the thought within them. Cultural history is, in this sense, the study of consciousness in the past."²⁷ Carey's particular appeal is for the study of reporting; cultural history as it applies to women journalists, women readers and women's issues would have to include reporting as it occurred in all sections of the daily press and beyond, extending to those specialized publications which "filled in the gaps" for women whose causes were excluded from the "real" reporting done in the general circulation press.

And the social factors inherent in the lives of women and men in journalism would have to be explored to allow us to speculate why they acted and decided as they did. As Marion Marzolf has said, "Cultural values, cultural context and the ethics of journalists are seen as vital to the role and performance of the journalist in reporting and editing, and thus important in shaping the product received by the

public."²⁸ Those who choose this cultural way of seeing must look beyond page one values--the public, the institutional--to those publics which have seemed secondary or, at the time, were purposefully excluded.

At the center of the problem of confronting and reforming positivist history in terms of women is that research in this area is still in its infancy. Neither Marzolf nor Beasley and Gibbons would say that theirs is the book of history about women in journalism. These books, coming as they did during a decade of enormous consciousness on the part of women and others in a minority position, filled a void, and, more importantly, offered a starting point. But, considering Marzolf's book came some 40 years after Ross', the troublesome possibility arises that academe will not respond with an encouraging atmosphere for the growth of historical studies about and incorporating women but will instead complacently say, "Enough" or "It's already been done."

On the other hand, there appear to be enough women and men scholars in the field who are cognizant of the potential for rediscovering and refining some of the issues of the past which may bring new understanding to the present with implications for the future. The very serious examination of the ways in which journalism history is researched and written provided in the recently published Communication History by John D. Stevens and Hazel Dicken Garcia represents the movement that is being made "toward a redefinition of the discipline."²⁹

Realizing that we must discomfort ourselves by seeing that the past on which we frame current issues may not be a construction which best serves the present and future needs of the students we instruct and of the society journalism serves is an important step toward such a redefinition. The treatment of women in existing journalism histories is only symptomatic of the larger problem of seeking alternative ways of seeing various publics and issues of the past to better help contemporary society understand itself. What forms the central challenge is seeking those redefinitions of a cultural past which place emphasis on human and humane values, histories which dare to prod the sanctity of the status quo with alternative ways of seeing and thinking. This is a particularly critical issue in terms of the training and education of student journalists who are to become the messengers and interpreters of and for society.

FOOTNOTES

1. American feminism seems to emerge periodically rather than enjoy the status of a long-held national value. At each emergence, the mass media seem to "discover" it with a mixture of dismay, disgust and surprise. Something surely must be missing from the education of journalists who seem not to connect feminism with a 19th century journalist, Margaret Fuller, and the generations of activists, many of them also journalists, who followed after her.
2. From an address, "Women and the Social Sciences," by Marcia Westcott, April 3, 1981, as part of the Women's Equity Committee's Instructional Development Project on Women's Scholarship, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks. See also Marcia Westcott, "Feminist Criticism of the Social Sciences," Harvard Educational Review, 49:4 (November 1979), pp. 422-30.
3. Ibid.
4. Kinser, Bill, and Neil Kleinmen, "History as Fiction," in Drama in Life: The Uses of Communication in Society, eds. James E. Combs and Michael W. Mansfield, (New York: Hastings House, 1976), p. 388.
5. Cassirer, Ernst, An Essay on Man, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1944, 1962), p. 172.
6. Tuchman, Barbara W., "An Inquiry into the Persistence of Unwisdom in Government," Esquire, May 1980, p. 26. "Woodenheadness" is defined as "assessing a situation in terms of preconceived, fixed notions, while ignoring or rejecting any contrary signs. It is acting according to wish while not allowing oneself to be confused by facts."
7. Dorr, Rheta Childe, A Woman of Fifty, (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1924). See also Notable American Women, 1607-1950, (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971), p. 503; Jennifer L. Tebbe, "Rheta Childe Dorr," American Women Writers, Lina Mainiero, ed., (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1979), pp. 529-31, among other sources.

8. McGlashan, Zena Beth, "Club 'Ladies' and Working 'Girls': Rheta Childe Dorr and the New York Evening Post," paper presented to the History Division, Association for Education in Journalism, annual convention, East Lansing, Mich., August 1981.
9. Hovey, Tamara, John Reed: Witness to Revolution, (New York: Crown Publishers, 1975).
10. From a remark by Dorr's youngest brother, Cyril E. Childe, in an interview with the author at Cambridge, Md., June 12, 1979. The opinion is reinforced by reading Dorr's A Soldier's Mother in France, published in 1918.
11. Emery, Edwin and Michael Emery, The Press and America: An Interpretative History of the Mass Media, (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1978); Marion Marzolf, Up From the Footnote: A History of Women Journalists, (New York: Hastings House, 1977); Maurine Beasley and Sheila (Silver) Gibbons, Women in Media: A Documentary Sourcebook, (Washington: Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, 1977).
12. More than three-fourths of the over 250 schools and departments of journalism survey in 1977 were using the Emery and Emery text in their history courses. Fred F. Endres, "Philosophies, Practices and Problems in Teaching Journalism History," Journalism History, 5:1 (Spring 1978), p. 2.
13. Journalism History is published by the California State University Foundation in cooperation with the CSUN Department of Journalism.
14. Marzolf, Marion, "The Woman Journalist: Colonial Printer to City Desk, I-II," Journalism History, 1:4 (Winter 1974-75), pp. 100-7, 2:1 (Spring 1975), pp. 24-7, 32.
15. Ross, Ishbel, Ladies of the Press, (New York: Harper Brothers, 1936).
16. Marzolf, Up From the Footnote, p. 45. It should be noted that, rather than cover "the start" of the club movement, Dorr was involved in the beginnings of the club movement's national commitment to social activism. Credit for founding women's clubs without church affiliation is given to another journalist, Jane "Jennie June" Cunningham Croly who established Sorosis Club in New York in 1868.

17. Dorr, Inside the Russian Revolution, (New York: The Macmillian Co., 1917).
18. Emery and Emery, The Press and America, pp. 228-9. This seven-paragraph segment entitled "Women in Journalism" represents the "patch" to incorporate most women journalists into the text.
19. Endres, p. 3.
20. Emery, p. 4.
21. "The Suffragist" was established as the voice for the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage. See Aileen S. Kraditor, The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement, 1890-1920, (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1965, 1981).
22. For an extremely lucid discussion of attitudes about women and work, see Alice Kessler-Harris, Women Have Always Worked, (Old Westbury: The Feminist Press, 1981).
23. Dorr, for example, scorned "sob sisters" because she considered their methods to be "just one stunt, one breach of confidence, one keyhole peep-show after another." Fifty, p. 74.
24. Dorr, an activist for equal rights, considered the vote only as "a means to an end. I knew that women were never going to break into the human race with a mere ballot. I felt that a few million American women going to the polls once a year . . . would have no appreciable effect on the whole State of the Union, much less on their own social status." Fifty, p. 222.
25. Pickett, Calder M., Voices of the Past: Ken Documents in the History of American Journalism, (Columbus: Grid Inc., 1977).
26. The dilemma of women's studies as they pertain to journalism history is discussed by Mary Ann Yodelis Smith in "An Editorial: On Ending the Footnote Syndrome," Journalism History, 1:4 (Winter 1974-75), p. 99.
27. Carey, James W., "The Problem of Journalism History," Journalism History, 1:1 (Spring 1974), p. 4.
28. Marzolf, Marion, "American Studies: Ideas for Media Historians," Journalism History, 5:1 (Spring 1978)

29. Stevens, John D. and Hazel Dicken Garcia, Communication History, (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1981), p. 27.

THE OCCUPATIONAL AND WAGE STATUS OF
WOMEN: RESULT OF REASON,
HABIT, OR CLASS?

Scot A. Stradley

Introduction

The following addresses an aspect of economic reality that has received considerable interest only in the last fifteen years. The fact, the unequal wage and occupational status of women in the labor force, has been fully documented across North America and Europe. Women earn around 60% of what men earn. Furthermore, women are crowded into a small number of occupations, especially in the service sector. Finally, a combination of the previous two factors combines to produce a lower and flatter life-time earnings curve for women than for men.

This paper approaches the fact of interest from a comparative perspective. Economics is not a unified science. It is divided of a number of fundamental levels. It differs in terms of metaphysics, psychology, epistemology, and definitions of justice. A comparative perspective must emphasize these differences, since they lead to different interpretations of the fact. More importantly, the differences are profound when we come to the question of whether the fact is just or not. Depending on the answer to this question further differences at the level of public policy emerge. In other words, views on what society should about the fact vary considerably.

The following treats first the explanation of the fact. The approaches are organized into a threefold category: neo-classical, institutional, and marxian. Once this section is complete the issue of whether the fact is just or not is addressed, along with policy prescriptions designed to achieve a just situation. This section is organized into a threefold category-libertarian, liberal, and marxian. Since the article is primarily comparative and is produced as a means toward a basic understanding of the different points of view there is little in the way of criticism offered. Criticism and synthesis is left to the reader and to future writers.

Interpreting the Fact

The Neoclassical Perspective

The neoclassical perspective is older than its name reveals. It was born in the Age of Enlightenment, as heralded by Sir Isaac Newton. Two major themes of Newton emerge in the work of the classical/neoclassical school. The first is an extension of atomic theory, or the focus on the individual as against the organism or collectivity. The second is the notion of harmony. Newton's harmony in the form of natural laws created by God to preserve order is adopted by the classicals in the form of a harmony of interests among all participants in the economic order.

The third fundamental preconception of the classical/neoclassical school is found in the belief in natural rights. The belief in natural rights was deducted from the natural state of man, or natural order as it is sometimes called. Here the genotype is the Lockean, rather than Hobbesian, state of nature. This natural order "is a state where we are all obliged by the natural feeling of our hearts, and by many tender affections, to innocence and beneficence toward all: and that war is one of the accidental states arising solely from injury, when we or some of our fellows have counteracted the dictates of their nature."¹

This original state of nature has as its ultimate right that of liberty. Liberty is natural, since no one is subject to anyone but God. This ultimate natural right leads to the natural liberty of each to exert his or her energy in all industry, labor, or leisure, so long as this does not injure other persons or goods. The modern expression of this is found in the words 'free to choose.'

The psychological foundations of the classical/neoclassical perspective emphasize reason and rationality.² The Benthamite task-masters of pleasure and pain guide all human conduct. Individuals are, of course, the only judges of what constitutes pleasure and pain, thus this psychological model is extremely subjective. Human conduct is rational in the sense that the individual quietly contemplates all actual and potential pleasures (benefits) and pains (costs) associated with a particular act or set of acts and then makes a calculated choice that maximizes net pleasure (benefits). Such choices are made freely, or voluntarily, and reflect the private values of the individual, a matter of no concern to the neoclassical economist. So long as these choices are voluntary the neoclassical economist is satisfied since neoclassical economics is concerned only with positive and not

normative science. The only value economic science incorporates into their analyses is the belief that rational choice requires that individuals maximize net pleasure, whether measured by utility or by profits.

Economic behavior in the neoclassical system is deduced from these fundamental premises along with other basic assumptions so crucial to their deduction. Economic analysis of this sort can be said to be a branch of statics and mechanics. That is their theory of change is Newtonian. Change is uniform, consistent, and repeatable. The economy, like the solar system, operates in a way that internally perpetually repeats itself. Institutions and the like are thus not important to the analysis. They are stable over time.³ The consequence of this static perspective is that neoclassical economics analyzes behavior under many *ceteris paribus* assumptions. Thus, all prices, incomes, and tastes of all agents are assumed to be given when the behavior of an individual is examined. The individual then adjusts to variations of one given the others.

The repercussions of individual behavior on the impacted market are examined in terms of their effect on equilibrium. The market is capable, always of reproducing an equilibrium in terms of the pleasure and pain (benefits and costs) of all parties involved. The market is the result of this voluntary cooperation of all participants to maximize net pleasures, or to maximize benefits subject to cost constraints. The market works perfectly so long as participants possess perfect knowledge, are perfectly mobile, and face many competitors (buyers or sellers). A perfect market always is a sufficient regulator of the process of voluntary choice and requires no external, exogenous, sources of control.

This perspective sees the family as the result of conscious, selective, voluntary choice.⁴ The choice is made so as to maximize net pleasure of the individual, given his or her tastes. Rational people never make choices that involve negative net pleasure so the marriage contract is advantageous to both trading parties. The advantages are viewed from the perspective of specialization. Women marry men because of their market power while men marry women for their child-bearing and caring powers. This trade is advantageous due to the opportunity costs which are very high for men who choose child-rearing, for instance.

The specialization pursued in a marriage enterprise has various consequences. Women face a three-fold choice between market work, homework, and leisure. The decision

is made on the basis of cost/benefit analysis which includes both tangible and intangible (i.e., psychic) forms and actual and opportunity costs. A family's choice of whether or not to form a family is made on the basis of the price of time with the demand for children being inversely related to the price of time.⁵

This perspective sees the wage differential between men and women as the result of lower productivity in women.⁶ Women are less productive because they spend fewer years in the labor force. The participation is also interrupted due to child-bearing-rearing activity. This leads to less investment in human capital since women acquire less experience and on-the-job training than men. Consequently, the life time earning curve is lower and flatter than for men.

Mincer and Polachek also suggest that women may consciously choose occupations that minimize on-the-job training, especially if they expect to drop out of the labor force. Deduction from the profit-maximizing principle sees discrimination by employers against women as rational since men have more stable labor-force participation.⁷ Consequently, skill-enhancing and higher wage jobs go to men.

The belief in the self-correcting and adjusting features of a market society are admirably illustrated in the literature on sexual and racial discrimination. It has been shown that employers who discriminate make lower profits because of higher costs than employers who don't. Competition will therefore regulate this since capital flees lower rate of return investments and seeks out higher return investments. There will be, however, employment discrimination, or job segregation in this circumstance.⁸

The Institutional Perspective

The institutional approach is quite different from the neoclassical in the areas of metaphysics, psychology, and epistemology. These differences are crucial for understanding the genuinely real and significant differences between the two schools. Institutionalism, like Marxism, began as a critique of neoclassical economics. Thorsten Veblen initiated this with the observation that anthropology stands to revolutionize the social sciences in general, and economics in particular.⁹

Institutionalism represents a different way of comprehending economic reality. It was born in the latter part of the 19th century and has been considerably enriched during

the twentieth. As a consequence institutional economics possesses very little of the Enlightenment and Newtonian influence. In fact, institutionalism finds its roots in philosophical pragmatism, defined as follows:

Pramatism represents a perfectly familiar attitude in philosophy, the empiricist attitude, but it represents it, as it seems to me, both in a more radical and in a less objectionable form than it has ever yet assumed. A pragmatist turns his back resolutely and once and for all upon a lot of inveterate habits dear to professional philosophers. He turns away from abstraction and insufficiency, from verbal solutions, from bad a priori reasons, from fixed principles, closed systems, and pretended absolutes and origins. He turns towards facts, toward action, and, toward power. At the same time it does not stand for any special results. It is a method only.¹⁰

This method is now referred to as holistic economics.¹¹ The method of holistic economics is more than a mere inductive method. It is a genetic method. This method has its roots in the work of Darwin in biological evolution and Albert Einstein in relativity. This method views the economy as an evolving, unified whole, or synthesis of the many parts of the system. "Economics is the study of the structure and functioning of the evolving field of human relations which is concerned with the provision of material goods and services for the satisfaction of human wants."¹² Thus, the emphasis is on probability, process, dynamics, and evolution rather than mechanics and statics. Thus, the theory of change employed by institutional economists is quite different from the Lockean and Newtonian theory employed by the neoclassical school. Rather than the system being eternal, changeless and timeless the system is viewed as mutating and dynamic.¹³

The psychology of the institution school reflects the method of pragmatism. The empirical basis requires that human behavior be studied as it occurs rather than in abstraction. Holism leads to an emphasis on all aspects of human behavior, or the whole conduct of people in society. This means accepting the possibility that many values guide conduct. The rational and reasonable behavior of the neoclassicals is only one aspect of human behavior, and a highly abstract one at that.¹⁴

Institutional psychology arises from "the most elementary fact of living creatures, Instinct and Habit, which

are the mere repetition of acts found by experience to be preservative of life, of enjoyment, and of survival in the struggles of competition. This repetition goes on from generation to generation in such a way that custom is analogous to heredity."¹⁵

Custom is greater than habit, however. Custom is social habit. Individual psychology is the consequence of social psychology. Individuals are born into "going concerns" each with a developed set of individual habits which reflect the customs of the whole (or wholes) of the going concerns. People act in the context of repetition of action, memory, and expectation. Imitation or duplication of acts governs individual conduct. Custom grows, moreover, into the basis of common law, and thus becomes the foundation of all legal relations among participants.

Genetic theory requires that repetition not become mere repetition. Repetition varies from act to act with the passage of time and at the same time. Custom is variable. Through the course of variation of custom new customs emerge as alternatives to preceding or existing customs. New customs can cause older customs to gradually decay, or to rapidly perish. As a consequence, there is a continual selection of customs going on with new customs emerging that are more fitted to changing economic and political conditions. Simultaneously, this implies the death of old institutions and the formation of new institutions, since institutions are the result of habitual or modal patterns of behavior. The state is the means, through law, to change institutions. Government is crucial to reformation.

The institutional school relegates to a minor role, and often rejects, the focus of neoclassical economics. The unit of interest is not the individual firm or person, but rather groups of individuals or firms. Individual action in the twentieth century was dwarfed by the growth of collective action. Consistent with the psychological premises individual action is held to be controlled by collective action. Economic theory is not an explanation of individual choice, but of collective action. Furthermore, these collections of individuals do not operate in a harmonious universe, but in a universe of conflict. Conflict and collective action are the root of the State. Holism requires government to be part of the analysis, and not a separate sector as in neoclassical economics.

Focusing on collective action creates a larger setting, or a greater scope, for economic science. No longer does the legal system remain idle on the sidelines of the field

of human choice. The legislature, common law, the Supreme Court, the customs of business or labor all are crucial to the analysis. Because of scarcity conflict is inevitable. Collective action attempts to establish order, or working rules, to alleviate this conflict and replace it with co-operation. For the institutionalists, harmony of interest is the goal and not the root.¹⁷

The emphasis on collective action and conflict of interests is crucial to the institutional theory of choice and change. The theory of choice is important for understanding the process by which new customs (institutions) are selected from the competitors. Thus it explains how institutions change or are replaced. This is crucial for the proprietary institution since choice here means an increase of power over other persons.¹⁸

Common treatment of choice illustrates the main elements of the institutional theory of value and income distribution.¹⁹ Choice involves the threefold dimension of performance, avoidance, and forbearance. Performance, the application of physical or economic power in one direction is the central concept. Avoidance is the rejection of the next best performance. Forbearance is the choice of a lower contrasted to a higher degree of power in actual performance. The root of physical and economic power is the will. "It is the dimensions of the will in its bodily action, upon which economic and legal theory is built [sic]."

Will power, operating collectively through corporations, trade associations, unions, etc., is the root of choice. Economic power is the ability to use market power to control the future of other individuals through groups. Transactions are the means to gain legal control, the control of the future behavior of individuals. Thus, the exercise of economic power through transactions leads to legal control.²⁰ Legal control is the source of value, not physical control.

The elements of the whole can now be summarized, although not totally. The cultural and institutional structure of society is the basis of that society's value system. The value structure expresses itself through the market place as well as through other mediums. The outcome of this, what is produced in terms of goods, services, and cultural patterns is a relection of this value structure. "The deployment of power permeates this whole process and is critical in the determination of the character of both the private and public parts of the economy. The inequities, the distortions, the expansions and contractions in various sectors, the growth, the patterns of distribution and development

are all affected by the power structure. Indeed, it is not too much to say that it is the allocation of power far more than resource allocation that conditions and shapes the development of the economy and its ongoing operations."²¹

The process which creates value occurs prior to the market place since the participants in the market place are cultural constructs. Groups compete on the basis of the power they have accumulated and can effectively exercise. Pure economic or market power is strongly influenced by legal, political, and cultural power. Thus, all the functions of the state are crucial to the valuation process.

The structure of the modern economy is eminently pluralistic. The strongest organized power blocs are big business, big labor, big agriculture, and big government. The conflicts and customs of these groups are the primary means by which commodities are valued.²²

Given this perspective the interpretation of the fact begins with a history of women's status in the family, law, and government. Custom is crucial since it is the root of common law. Locke viewed the custom of the subjection of women to their husbands as divine and natural, as well as the custom of private property. Government, according to Locke, was created to preserve customs.²³

The result is described in the following narrative:

During the late 1500s and the 1600s many of the phenomena described began to disappear. The craftwomen, the celibates, and the vagabonds all declined in number and status. In the guilds in particular there was a rapid loss of rights and statuses for women. Men were feeling the pressure of women as competitors in the labor market and successfully pressed for their expulsion from guild after guild. This transition era initiated the prolonged suffering of both rural and urban female laborers as they were squeezed out of secure female work statuses. The hermitess or vagabond of the fourteenth century became the work-deadened automation of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Rural laboring women went hungry, and the children of women in the factories were rounded up like cattle. Married and single women alike were trapped by the formula of "supplemental" pittance wages for women.²⁴

The decline in the status of women corresponds to the rise of private property, or the new form of economic and legal power. Men increasingly moved away from household activity and into the new property setting as owners or workers.

The labor movement played a primary role in the further development of the modern institutional setting. One of the first major political accomplishments of the labor movement was to limit and regulate the employment of women and children. The custom of patriarchy modified the contract the labor movement made with the banker capitalists, the traditional boundary of male/female employment had to be redefined after the confusion of the industrial revolution. The redefinition preserved much of the past but showed much adaptation. The outcome involved an important characteristic of the labor market; segmentation.²⁵

The segmented labor market represents the institutional approach to the explanation of the fact. The segmented labor market sees the labor market as being divided into many distinct markets on the basis of qualitative factors, especially institutional factors.²⁶ Job segregation by sex yields overcrowding in women sectors. Lower wages result from crowding and being at the weak end of a power polarity.²⁷

The institutional concept of job segregation and corresponding lower wage level has its roots in the psycho-cultural characteristics of the people. These characteristics may not be overtly expressed, but may exist as 'subtle overtones.' To the extent they are overtly expressed they are built into the legal system and the working rules of all aspects of the cultural and economic system. These working rules can be observed in the education system (women are not capable of thinking mathematically) to the workplace (promote the man because he has a family to feed) to government (a woman president? God forbid!), and finally to occupational structure (woman's work).²⁸

The Marxian Perspective

Marx's perspective is an interesting blend of the previous two in that many elements of the Enlightenment influenced Marx, and, to a degree, many elements of the Darwinian perspective were anticipated by Marx. Marx seems to stand at the breakwater of these two great periods of intellectual history and definitely senses the transition, especially since he does much to facilitate it.

Marx's epistemology is genetic and as such is definitely similar to the institutional school. Genetic explorations typically attempt to set out the sequence of major events through which some early system has been transformed into a new and different one. The selection of these events proceeds from and reflects a set of assumptions, either explicit or otherwise. One major problem in treating the Marxist perspective is that Marx never fully exposes himself on this count.²⁹

The original view of Marx's method sees a reliance on an economic deterministic theory of social structure and consciousness--Marx refers to the economic basis of society as the mode of production. The mode of production represents the so-called social relations of production. These reflect the degree of development of the means of production, or man's command over Nature. The mode of production is defined primarily in terms of the form of ownership which prevails. This is the basic and most fundamental social relation of interest to Marx.

The genesis of the form of property is studied in a dialectical context. The emphasis is on polar oppositions such as all individual oppositions, i.e., family, tribe, state, class. The focus is on the production of the various entities of individual and social existence, especially as these are influenced by the development of the form of property itself. The development of the form of property is also reflected in the development of social classes. The dialectic emphasizes both the production of man by society and the production of society by man. The essence of the dialectic is to grasp the whole by contradictions.

The Marxian method is one of abstraction. Historical knowledge is studied not for its own sake, but for its ability to produce concepts. The major difference between the Marxian method of abstraction and that of the Classical economists is that Marx genetically derives the abstract concept. Thus, property is introduced into the analysis only after its development has been researched. Thus, Marx's analysis is richer in meaning and understanding than that of, for instance, David Ricardo. For the latter property is a changeless and eternal part of the human condition whereas for Marx property is a legal relation, and thus intimately involved with the development of the state.

The Marxian method of viewing history and social structure emphasizes disharmony, or conflict. This conflict point-of-view is the result of the dialectical combined with a genetic method. This approach is integral to Marx's

comprehensive view of human development: "What requires explanation is not the unity of living and active human beings with the natural, inorganic conditions of their metabolism with nature, and therefore their appropriation of nature; nor is this the result of a historic process. What we must explain is the separation of these inorganic conditions of human existence from this active existence, a separation which is only fully completed in the relationship between wage-labour and capital."³⁰

To explain the fully developed separation of wage-labour Marx begins with the 'natural conditions of existence,'³¹ at least insofar as they have spontaneously evolved from nature. Here the original man is a generic being, a tribal being, and a herd animal.³² In this sense man possesses no individuality, but exists as an extension of the group. In the original system property is communally held and production is collective.³³ The only form of the division of labour is on the basis of sex, and thus, none of the modern class structure based on division of labour exists. Furthermore, in this original nature state it was possible for the kinship group to be organized on the basis of a period of sexual promiscuity. Subsequent kinship groups were most likely organized on the basis of matriarchy.

The transformation from this natural state to the period of wage-labour involves a transformation of the family. Whereas for primitive society the kinship system dominates the property system the reverse is true for modern society. The evolution of society is controlled by the productivity of the kinship system. As the latter develops, its contradictions, private property, differences in wealth, the exploitation of others, and class structure also develop simultaneously. Most important is the fact that exchange develops, since exchange is the major force of dissolution and transformation. Thus, the double-movement of productivity and exchange explain the dissolution of primitive communism and communal man.

What replaces primitive communism is a series of systems which consummate with bourgeois society. The key to this developmental process is the development of property and corresponding class structure. The overall pace and nature of this developmental process is regulated by the evolution of the forces of production. The outcome of this history is on individual man and bourgeois society is crucial to this individualization process.

Marx describes this process abstractly with his theory of alienation. Alienation is a historic process which

dissolves the different forms in which the labourer is an owner and the owner labors.³⁴ This dissolution entails the end of direct communal property where all members were proprietors by virtue of being a commune member. What replaces this is individual ownership at the heyday of capitalism. This form of ownership represents the peak of a historical process of individualization, which will in turn be replaced by future communal forms of property.

The theory of alienation and the development of private property are crucial to the development of marriage. Monogamy is the form of marriage that develops along with alienation and property. "Monogamy arose from the concentration of considerable wealth in the hands of a single individual--a man--and from the need to bequeath this wealth to the children of that man and no other."³⁵

With the evolution of monogamy and private property, household management (oikos) lost its public character. It became private service and the wife became head servant, excluded from all public production, and therefore, unable to earn. "Not until the coming of modern large-scale industry was the road to social production opened to her again--and then only to the proletarian wife. . . . The modern individual family is founded on the open or concealed domestic slavery of the wife, and modern society is a mass composed of these individual families as its molecules."³⁶

Engels describes the husband as in a privileged position that creates supremacy without legal title, or, by tradition. The husband is the bourgeois and the wife the proletarian. Thus, the family is a reflection of the power structure of modern society; the oppression of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie and the oppression of woman by man.

Woman's marginal relation to modern emerging industrial economy is described further by Marx in his analysis of relative surplus population. The importance of relative surplus population in Marx lies in the fact that it is "the pivot upon which the law of demand and supply of labour works."³⁷ As such the reserve army "weighs down the active labour-army."

The reserve army consists of three parts; the stagnant, the latent, and the floating. The floating form of relative surplus population consists of those members of the labor force who have reached maturity whereupon the majority are discharged.³⁸ Many of these people migrate to follow capital with one consequence "that the female

population grows more rapidly than the male."³⁹ The important distinction is that these are female and mature and unwanted laborers.⁴⁰

The latent form of surplus population consists of a portion of the agricultural population that is on the verge of leaving for other non-agricultural employments. These laborers exist at minimum wages and already have one foot 'in the swamp of pauperism.'⁴¹

The stagnant form of surplus population is a part of the active labor army, but experiences extremely irregular employment. This form is recruited from the supernumeraries of industry and agriculture and experiences maximum hours and minimum wages. Its chief form is "domestic industry."⁴²

The lowest level of the reserve army are the paupers and this includes a female component, the prostitutes. Prostitution results from the practice of polygamy for men and monogamy for women. Another group of women also fill the ranks of pauperism, yet are unlike prostitutes in that they cannot work. These are the elderly, the victims of industry (disabled), people whose skills have become outdated, and the widows. Proportionately, women are well represented here.⁴³

The perspective Marx and Engels offer is one where women, due to the development of private property in general, and private property in women, have been relegated to the least powerful level on the status scale. As a consequence, women face the double crushing forces of bourgeois exploitation and patriarchy. Collectively, this accounts for low wages and occupational segregation.

The modern marxian literature reflects the emphasis on class struggle and sexism. The understanding of the part played by organized labor in this process, a deficiency in Marx, has been expanded. The class struggle between the bourgeois and proletariat led male dominated unions to pursue legislation and other pressures on women to keep them in the home.⁴⁴ The labor movement has also pursued the creation of work rules which control entry, maintain seniority systems, occupationally segregate, and stratify the labor force to the advantage of males.⁴⁵

The role of scientific management and technology in wage and occupational segregation is also important. Skilled workers possess more bargaining power than unskilled. Thus, management and science continually attempt to de-skill jobs. This has the advantage of creating jobs suited for

women in their status of low-skilled and low-paid.⁴⁶

Is This Just?

The concept of justice involves many aspects, but here we are particularly interested in the aspect of distributive justice. Distributive justice must not, however, be withdrawn from a more general conception. The general conception of justice asks what is fair.

Neoclassical Perspective

The neoclassical perspective on the issue of justice is as diverse as the neoclassical movement is. The range of views on justice influencing the school serves as a convenient means for illustrating the structural diversity of the school. This structural diversity reflects the influence of a scale of views ranging from libertarianism to the liberal contractual tradition, the latter being a considerable influence on the institutional school.

The libertarian view of justice takes liberty to be the ultimate moral ideal. The selection of liberty as the ideal requires equality before the law. Equality of the rules of law is, furthermore, the only kind of equality that is compatible with liberty, and is the only type of equality that can be achieved without destroying liberty. Liberty is, therefore, bound to produce inequality.⁴⁷

Liberty and inequality are the result of the fact of natural inequality, congenital differences. Environment has little to do with the inequality of outcome that follows from natural inequality of ability. Thus, any attempt to place people in an equal material position would require treating people differently, and this is against equality before the law.

The just system to Hayek is the result of human freedom in action in the context of natural inequality. Freedom, and the equality before the law it requires, lead to material inequality. So long as there is no coercion in the choice process the outcome must stand. "Economic inequality is not one of the evils which justify our resorting to discriminatory coercion or privilege as a remedy."⁴⁸ Milton Friedman states it most succinctly: "The ethical principle that would directly justify the distribution of income in a free market society is, 'to each according to what he and the instruments he owns produces.'"⁴⁹

Robert Nozick's view of distributive justice is quite similar to Hayek and Friedman. His view is an "entitlement theory of justice." In this scheme a just distribution occurs according to the following rule:

From each according to what he chooses to do,
to each according to what he makes for himself
(perhaps with one contracted aid of others)
and what others choose to do for him and choose
to give him of what they've been given previously
(under this maxim) and haven't yet expended or
transferred.⁵⁰

Socialist Perspective

The socialist perspective is treated now in order to create the polarity which the liberal tradition attempts to mediate. The socialist ideal is the antithesis of the libertarian ideal in that it requires social and material equality. Liberty, from Marx's perspective, is a bourgeois illusion. Liberty is merely the oppressive state protecting property interests from non-property interests. The only means by which social equality may be achieved is by abolishing all bourgeois forms of property, and this includes the bourgeois marriage. "The real point aimed at is to do away with the status of women as mere instruments of production."⁵¹

The means to the end of social equality and the corresponding socialist principle of justice, from each according to his ability, to each according to his need, is through action of the state. The state must be converted from a bourgeois to a proletarian state first, and this requires a forceful revolution. Older conditions may have to be swept away by force as well.⁵² Thus, considerable coercion may be necessary to achieve the socialist ideal, and the state is the instrument of the coercion.

The goal of real social equality for women must begin with a complete equality of legal rights for men and women. Once this is established the next step "for the liberation of the wife is to bring the whole female sex back into public industry."⁵³ This can be accomplished by nationalizing all household services performed by women for men, i.e., child care. The goal of the process is to create true monogamy, or to abolish the bourgeois community of women (prostitution and polygamy for males).⁵⁴

Liberal Perspective

The liberal conception of justice has attempted to mediate the conflict between the libertarian and socialist conceptions of justice. It is an attempt to combine liberty and social equality. The liberal conception of justice is derived via a free agreement among rational agents.

The institutional perspective on justice was never developed to any significant degree by any of the major writers like Veblin, Commons, J. M. Clak, Tugwell, or Means. Commons comes the closest in his emphasis on economics and jurisprudence. The views of John Rawls on justice, however, have been identified with the institutional school.⁵⁵ The similarities in views are considerable. Rawls is a Darwinian and has an organic view of man in society. Man's identity as human is based on membership in the whole. Production is a social activity for both Rawls and the institutionalists and is carried on for the benefit of the entire society. Product belongs to society and no individual has a superior claim.⁵⁶

The Rawlsian and institutional perspective on distributive justice see the redistribution of social product as necessary. "Rawls . . . finds his principles of justice lead to government's guaranteeing a social minimum either by family allowances and special payments for sickness and unemployment, or more systematically by such devices as a graded income supplement (a so-called negative income tax). Further, the government imposes a number of inheritance and gift taxes, and sets restrictions of the rights of bequest. The purpose . . . is not to raise revenue . . . but gradually and continually correct the distribution of wealth."⁵⁷ Thus, for Rawls and the institutionalists, justice without government intervention in the process of distribution is impossible. Government intervention must occur in terms of rules of conduct and the institutions which enforce these rules of conduct.

The institutions, in order to be just, must conform to an original social contract which specifies the principles of justice. This original position is formulated by unequal people who are ignorant of their inequality. This ignorance prevents any one of them from advocating principles favorable to that person.⁵⁸ This Rawlsian original position does not exist in institutional economics because of the influence of Hume's principle of scarcity and conflict of interest. Institutional economics deals with rules of conduct enforced by the moral sanction of the community, the collective sanctions of gain or loss, or by physical force. These rules

moreover, flow from a pluralist society where there is considerable conflict of interest.⁵⁹

The Remainder

The contractual theory of justice has suffered from a number of substantive critiques. An alternative defense of the liberal tradition of justice has developed and is formulated in the utilitarian perspective.

From this view "justice is a name for certain moral requirements which, regarded collectively, stand higher on the scale of social utility, and are therefore of more paramount obligation, than others. . . ."60

The utilitarian theory of morals regards happiness as the ultimate end of morality. Pleasure and pain are the great regulators of human choice, and this is applicable to choices concerning good or bad. This perspective supposes that one person's happiness is equal in degree with anybody else's. Furthermore, it supposes all individuals are rational in making their orderings (least to most pleasure). Given these basics, Mill defines the highest abstract standard of social and distributive justice as follows:

We should treat all equally well (when no higher duty forbids) who have deserved equally well of us, and that society should treat all equally well who have deserved equally well of it, that is, who have deserved equally well absolutely.⁶¹

Mill's definition has raised some complex issues and debates, and the literature is large.⁶² For instance, how do we decide who has done equally well of us. The mechanics of this are debated considerably, especially the so-called aggregation problem (converting individual utility functions into social utility functions).⁶³

The principle of utility sees society as being properly arranged when its institutions maximize net happiness. This may or may not require government intervention to achieve this. Such obvious examples like monopoly are a case where government intervention is obviously justified. The rationale for government intervention is net benefits (total benefits minus total costs). Here again, the literature is considerable, and is definitely clear on the difficulties that curse such democratic procedures.⁶⁴

The criterion for choice in these situations always

remains the same--utility. Thus, if society's net pleasure could be increased by affecting the distribution of income to women it will be so affected. If women can be shown to be losing at someone else's expense (discriminatory male employer or union) then some sort of moral rule can be developed, or some sort of compensation. The great difficulty, again, with this procedure is the gap between its formal definition of justice and its substantial definition.

Conclusions

This completes the review of views on how wage and occupational discrimination develop and what to do about it. The key themes are freedom of choice and liberty; power and the struggle to dominate; and class structure and oppression of one class by another. The latter view requires revolution to correct the plight of women since class society and women's status are inseparable. The other views definitely distinguish themselves by rejecting class struggle as a relevant issue. This is perfectly understandable when it is realized they are collectively attempting to defend democratic, private property societies against fascist and communist attacks. All justify government intervention, with the exception of the libertarian view, to correct economic injustice. They differ primarily in the means used to determine how much and what kind of intervention.

If we were to distinguish the institutional view from the remainder the emphasis would necessarily fall on the use of institutions to correct the results of skewed power polarities. The legal system would be a crucial variable. The neoclassicists would, probably, wish to confine themselves to the use of subsidy and taxation to correct defects in human choice.

FOONOTES

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5. Jacob Mincer, "Labor Force Participation of Married Women: A Study of Labor Supply," in Aspects of Labor Economics, National Bureau of Economic Research, (Princeton, 1962), pp. 63-73.
6. Jacob Mincer and Solomon Polachek, "Family Investments in Human Capital: Earnings of Women," Journal of Political Economy, 82(2), 1974: 76-108.
7. Edmund S. Phelps, "The Statistical Theory of Racism and Sexism," in Alice Amsden, ed., The Economics of Women Work, (New York, 1980), pp. 206-210.
8. Gary Becker, The Economics of Discrimination, 2nd ed., (Chicago, 1971), pp. 43-45.
9. Thorsten Veblen, "Why Is Economics Not an Evolutionary Science?," in The Place of Science in Modern Civilization, Chapter 1, (New York, 1919), pp. 56-81.
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12. Op. cit., p. 550.
13. David Hamilton, Newtonian Classicism and Darwinian Institutionalism, (Albuquerque, 1953).

14. Lionel Robbins, An Essay on the Nature and Significance of Economic Science, (London, 1946), p. 94. Lord Robbins here admits the abstraction.
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16. Op. cit., p. 660. Commons follows Veblen with this definition. See Thorsten Veblen, The Instinct of Workmanship, and the State of the Industrial Arts, (New York, 1914), p. 7. See also A. Cruchy, op. cit., p. 68.
17. Op. cit., p. 6. Commons claims that institutional economics originates with Hume's emphasis on scarcity and conflict of interests.
18. Thorsten Veblen, The Theory of the Leisure Class, (New York, Modern Library Edition, 1934). Veblen argues private property is the outcome of the instinct of predation. For Veblen the "patriarchal regime" rules since archaic times.
19. Op. cit., p. 19, p. 88.
20. P. 87. Commons is distinguishing institutional economics from psychological economics and its reliance on the sensations created by the commodity on the mind.
21. Phillip A. Klein, "A Reconsideration of Holistic Economics," in John Adams, ed., Institutional Economics, (Boston, 1980), p. 51. Veblen, op. cit., p. 180, pp. 22-24, suggests the earliest form of ownership is of women by men and is strongly related to power.
22. John K. Galbraith, American Capitalism: The Concept of Counterveiling Power, (Boston, Sentry Edition, 1956), pp. 137-201. Business possesses the original form of power with the other interests having power extended to them in the twentieth century.
23. J. R. Commons, op. cit., p. 47. Commons agrees that custom, common law and government are closely bound. Commons differs from Locke in that he believes custom, common law, and government mutate. There is nothing divine or natural about social structure, except, possibly, that it changes.
24. Elise Boulding, "Familial Constraints on Women's Work Roles," in Martha Blaxall and Barbara Reagen, eds., Women and the Workplace, (Chicago, 1976), pp. 109-110.

25. Veblen, op. cit., p. 353-354 argues that the position of women in the community is the best index of economic development. This fact is modified by traditions of the past which may have only partially adapted to the present.
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33. Frederick Engels, The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, ed. by E. B. Leacock, (New York, 1970), p. 233.
34. Karl Marx, Pre-capitalist Economic Formations, pp. 97-98.

35. Frederick Engels, The Origin, p. 133.
36. Op. cit., p. 137.
37. Karl Marx, Capital, Volume I, (New York, 1974), p. 639.
38. Op. cit., p. 641.
39. Op. cit.
40. Engels clearly states that a proletarian woman cannot have both employment and family. Further, the wife's position in the factory is the position of women in all branches of business. Op. cit., p. 137.
41. Karl Marx, op. cit., p. 642.
42. Karl Marx, op. cit., p. 643, and pp. 466-480. Domestic industry is those branches of industry where machinery, or the factory, have not yet penetrated the labor process. They employ primarily women and children. The examples given by Marx are industries traditional to women's role in production, i.e., lace-making, and wearing apparel, or sewing.
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45. Jill Rubery, "Structured Labour Markets, Worker Organization and Low Pay," Cambridge Journal of Economics, 2(1), March, 1978: 17-36.
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Several participants in the Women's Equity Committee Curriculum Development Project elected to write articles dealing with applications of this knowledge to specific courses they offer at the University of North Dakota. Their writings indicate the wide range of fields which can and do benefit from a critical examination of traditional curriculum content: Janet Goldenstein Ahler in multicultural education, Dennis J. Elbert in business administration, Lee Furman in social work, David C. Nelson in German, and Lowell Thompson in elementary education.

THE ISSUE OF SEXISM IN MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

Janet Goldenstein Ahler

Many current multicultural education specialists are incorporating the study of women, and especially sexism, as issues in multiculturalism. But some educators are finding that the inclusion of sexism in multicultural education can present problems. Attacking or reducing sexism may be paradoxical to other primary goals in multicultural education, and it may be simply imprudent to do so in cross-cultural cases. This essay will examine the extent to which sexism is an issue related to multicultural education, the implications and problems of including sexism in multicultural concerns, and suggest some possible solutions to this problem.

The Character and Goals of Multicultural Education

Multicultural education is one which responds to and makes provision for the cultural pluralism that exists in our country. The curricula of such an education is made up of the cultural fabric drawn from the ethnic groups and minority cultures of the United States as well as from the mainstream Anglo-dominant culture. This benefits all students by promoting understanding and respect for different cultures as well as for their own. Multicultural education is aimed at all levels of education, from primary to higher education. Major goals of multicultural education are to meet the educational needs of culturally different students and to increase the cross-cultural awareness and sensitivity of all students.

These goals suggest or imply that ethnocentrism must be minimized. According to Hunter and Whitten, ethnocentrism is defined as the "preference toward one's own way of life versus all others, and judgment of other groups' lifestyles (usually negatively) in terms of the value system of one's own life-style."¹ David Hoopes recognizes the importance of this attitude: "One of the aims of intercultural education is to counteract ethnocentrism"² and "ethnocentrism was not only the unpleasant residue of a primordial instinct, but a hurdle of some significance on the road to survival."³ Ricardo Garcia reports on the objectives of a worldwide conference in 1971 on global education, an extension

of multicultural education. One of these is "to acquire greater sensitivity and understanding of other people's cultures and values without judging their worth on the basis of preconceived notions."⁴ The reduction of ethnocentrism is implicit in several objectives of multicultural education enumerated by James Banks, but specifically "to provide all students with the skills, attitudes, and knowledge they need to function within their ethnic culture, the mainstream culture, and within and across other ethnic cultures."⁵ The alternative to the negative aspects of ethnocentrism is an attitude referred to as cultural relativism defined by anthropologists as ". . . the idea that every culture is unique and therefore each cultural item must be understood in its own terms."⁶

Women and "Sexism" in Multicultural Education

Women studies and sexism have also appeared as issues related to but not well-integrated with multicultural education. As early as 1973, James Banks edited the 43rd yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies on ethnic studies (an early stage in the development of multicultural education) which includes a section on women. Banks states in the introduction, "The final part of this book explores the problems of two groups which have also been victimized by stereotypes and cultural assaults--white ethnics and women. While their problems may differ in many significant ways from those of racial minorities, the teacher who wishes to make his social studies program truly liberating must help students to view these groups with new lenses."⁷ The chapter itself, authored by Janice Trecker, concentrates on women in American history, current problems, and citizenship,⁸ primarily in the mainstream context, and neglects treating the issue in a multicultural context. Trecker does suggest, however, that students should be confronted with "analysis of current ideas of masculinity and femininity," "theories of socialization and sex role stereotypes," and "cross-cultural and historical comparisons,"⁹ but she does not offer advice on how to manage these issues without ethnocentric judgments. She advocates providing students with a "clear awareness that discrimination exists in education, law, business, industry, and government." Presumably, she refers to those conditions in the American mainstream culture, but the reader is left wondering how that relates to a multicultural setting and whether the situation applies to women in American minority cultures. These and many other questions are left unanswered. Furthermore, Banks alone authored several versions on the subject of ethnic studies using a similar format, but he eliminated the section on women and included

only in the appendix "Criteria for Evaluating the Treatment of Minority Groups and Women in Textbooks and Learning Materials" developed by Max Rosenberg.¹⁰ One might assume that Banks recognizes the difficulties inherent in treatment women's concerns in the same multicultural context as Native Americans, Jewish Americans, or Mexican-Americans. Women as a group do not constitute a culture or an ethnic group. They are members along with men of specific cultures and ethnic groups.

In another definitive publication, Multicultural Education: Commitments, Issues, and Applications, edited by Carl Grant and published by the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (1977), there is a section on sexism and language by Susan Melnick. She asserts, "While education that is multicultural demands recognition of the wide diversity of languages spoken in our society, an examination of sexism in English is an initial step to exposing discrimination against women inherent in many languages."¹¹ "There is certainly merit in English-speaking people examining sexism in the English language, but who should engage in doing the same thing in other languages?" Melnick defines sexist language "as any language that expresses stereotyped attitudes and expectations or assumes the inherent superiority of one sex over the other."¹² In order to accurately determine sexist language, then, according to Melnick's definition one would have to be fully conversant with the language and the culture in which the language is spoken. For example, while working with people of the Omaha tribe I became aware of their two dialects, one for males and one for females. I would trust only native speakers of the Omaha language to evaluate it for possible sexism. She advocates "raising the consciousness of both men and women and changing our individual language patterns, then, is the first and most plausible step for the elimination of sexist bias in language."¹³ Assuming that this is advocated in the context of multicultural education, there is reason to conclude that the consciousness raising should be conducted in the classroom, but, again, by whom and in regard to what language?

In Tiedt and Tiedt's book on Multicultural Teaching, there is a section on sex stereotypes and sexism in books,¹⁴ but there is no real clarification on how these topics relate to a multicultural classroom situation. Helping Kids Learn Multi-Cultural Concepts by Michael Pasternak makes at least more of an attempt to place the subject of women in a multicultural setting rather than as an addition to it. In an exercise adapted from one by Tom Sloan, there is a plan which gives students the opportunity to explore their own beliefs with regard to women's rights. Addressing educators,

the author states, "You may expect some real differences in perceptions from students representing different minority groups. Black students may have a very different idea of women and their role than Chicanos, whose culture tends to put a woman on a pedestal and keep her in the kitchen."¹⁵ If one can expect (and rightly so) different cultural perceptions about women's roles, then there is certain to be culturally different perceptions about sexism itself. Garcia discusses the developments of various women's studies programs, and concludes by suggesting:

In theory, women's studies should be an integral part of multicultural education. In actuality, what has happened is that ethnic studies groups and women's studies groups have found that they are in competition for the same, limited, educational resources. This has resulted on some campuses in an estrangement between these two thrusts in multicultural education. In the rare situations where women's studies and ethnic studies have joined forces in the academic marketplace, they have emerged as important and viable areas of academic pursuit. Unfortunately, on most campuses the two thrusts have not yet rallied around a common cause.¹⁶

It would be extremely helpful if Garcia had presented a detailed theory on the integration of women's studies with multicultural education. Granted, women's studies and ethnic studies may be in competition for resources, but it is possible that the two groups have not rallied together because of some conceptual and objective conflicts.

The most compelling of all multicultural programs or documents which embrace sexism as an issue is from the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education Commission on Multicultural Education. The Commission's Multicultural Teacher Education: Guidelines for Implementation, serves as the criteria for evaluating teacher education institutions by the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE). Throughout this document, there are evaluation questions which deal with sex bias as well as cultural concerns.¹⁷ However, there is no rationale to guide schools on how sex bias and multicultural concerns can be consolidated or amalgamated. Schools not complying with a majority of these criteria are in jeopardy of losing their accreditation. More questions can be raised about the inclusion of sexism in multicultural education than NCATE could possibly answer.

Sex Role Differences Cross-Culturally

Anthropologists have had a long tradition of interest and study of sex and sex role differences in many worldwide cultures. Many non-anthropologists in the past believed and some still believe that the physical and/or biological attributes of males and females determine their respective sex roles and personalities. Extensive anthropological research has demonstrated that there is such diversity in sex roles and personalities throughout the world's cultures that these differences are due primarily to cultural influences which are learned and not innately determined. This conclusion underscores the importance of considering sex role differences cross-culturally and in multicultural settings. Many would maintain that ethically, according to goals of both anthropology and multicultural education, sex roles should be regarded with cultural relativity, avoiding ethnocentrism. Unlike sex roles which lend themselves to pure description, the issue of sexism demands having to make a judgment by some set of standards, and if sexism in a particular culture is investigated and determined by a non-member, there is great potential for ethnocentric judgment. Problems of studying sex roles or sexism cross-culturally in anthropology have not been completely resolved in terms of ethnocentrism. Recently the women's movement has caused women anthropologists to question the Western methodology and perspective with regard to the description of sex roles:

It is generally acknowledged that an exclusively male study of a culture is incomplete. Male ethnographers use male informants, whether by inclination or because of cultural requirements, and observe the activities of males or those involving both sexes, but rarely those in which women alone participate. A partial ethnography is already a distorted picture, but that it is further distorted by the androcentric theory and methodology of many male ethnographers is only now beginning to be dealt with, chiefly by women anthropologists. Most of the men in the discipline find it difficult to face this reality, for it would bring into question much of the data accumulated for more than a century about non-Western cultures.¹⁸

The problem apparently is not restricted to Western male anthropologists. There is a current debate stemming from an African Studies Association panel on "Women in the Future of Africa." Two of the authors of papers are women who along with a male author reported that criticism of their

positions specified that they were "wrong in attempting to use 'Western' concepts to understand or explain the experience of West African women. Only fieldwork and case studies aimed at these women's own point of view are of any valid significance for comparative research."¹⁹

The women's point of view within their own culture is surely important in attempting to avoid ethnocentrism. For example, while Western women tend to reject as sexist the practice of purdah in Moslem cultures, the women in those cultures may perceive the practice differently. Jahan relates that working-class women of Bangladesh "cannot observe strict purdah, but they do not repudiate the concept of purdah. Indeed, in their minds purdah is associated with respectability, and they do observe purdah when their economic status becomes more secure."²⁰ In other words, these Moslem women do not perceive purdah as sexist. Women's status in Mexico has purportedly been complicated by the intrusion of acculturation factors forced on the indigenous people by European conquerors. Mexican women perceive their status to have lessened as result of the conquest: "Judging by the social participation and the importance of Indian women at that time, it would seem that they were still in a matrilineal society or at least in a transitional stage, in contrast with the culture of the conquerors where the patriarchy was fully established."²¹ Sexism in Mexican culture today is then viewed primarily as the result of "Western" influence. So too, many native women in North America maintain that their status in their own indigenous cultures was superior to that which exists today. Native American women students in my classes have argued that forced acculturation to mainstream cultural practices have led their men to model the behavior of the "white man" and that mainstream government restrictions have usurped the women's power as property owners and authority figures. It is interesting to note that some educators have apparently mistakenly inferred that native women were considered generally subservient to men in the indigenous cultures. Very probably, these educators have made that inference based on ethnocentric standards in the mainstream culture. Although the mainstream culture has experienced some great strides toward sex role equality since the last century, there is no valid reason to assume that the mainstream represents a model for imitation. The American mainstream culture may have much to learn about the reduction of sexism from other cultures. Finally, if anthropologists who are considered experts in minimizing ethnocentrism have not totally resolved the potential conflict with the issues of women and sexism, then it would be unrealistic to expect multicultural educators to resolve the problems alone. Nevertheless, it is incumbent upon educators

to be aware of the complexities of the situation.

In addition, anthropology can provide another lesson in cross-cultural interaction, especially for educators who feel compelled to advocate sex role change in the cultures of culturally different students. Most undergraduate anthropology students become familiar with the sometimes delicate balance of the parts of a culture relative to the whole through reading "Steel Axes for Stone-Age Australians." This is Lauriston Sharp's account of the Yir Yoront whose culture placed a great deal of importance on the ownership of stone axes, from both a technological and a social point of view. Adult men possessed the stone axes, and children and women were required to borrow the axes for use and to return them promptly to the men. The stone axe symbolized masculinity among this group. Then, through European sources at cattle stations and missions, steel axes were introduced to women and children. The result was a disastrous change in social relationships, a confusion of sex, age, and kinship roles, and psychological stress produced in the group from this indiscriminate introduction of steel axes; yet the technology of the Yir Yoront was not drastically altered.²² Had the outsiders gained more knowledge about Yir Yoront culture before introducing the steel axes, perhaps the intervention could have been more cautious and less devastating to the Yir Yoront. Educators should be aware that this may be an extreme case, but they should be careful about encouraging change in another culture. For instance, according to Castañeda, "Sexual roles are clearly defined in Mexican-American traditional communities. Men are considered to have more status in business and politics, whereas women have more status in religion, child rearing, and health care. Teachers should be cautious about forcing Mexican-American children from traditional families to do tasks or take on roles that contradict their sexual roles."²³ One cannot precisely predict or control what the effects or consequences of such cultural changes might be.

Summary and Recommendations

Women's studies and sexism issues have become a part of multicultural education but without thorough conceptual integration and without much thought given to some contradictory objectives. Multicultural education demands cultural enlightenment which should involve the subject of women as well as men. But the advocacy and judgment often associated with the study of sexism would, in multicultural or cross-cultural situations, present too many potential problems. The issue of sexism may very well come into direct

conflict with the goal of minimizing ethnocentrism in these cases. Multicultural educators need to face the conflict and its implications before proceeding with the inclusion of sexism issues within the context of multiculturalism. There are some ways in which sexism can and should be considered:

1. Sexism can be studied in a multicultural classroom, but the emphasis should be on sexism in the American mainstream culture. The values and practices in this culture affect everyone to some degree, no matter what ethnic group or different cultural membership the participants may have. In some cases, the current sexism in the American mainstream may be stronger than that of a minority culture.

2. Sex roles across cultures are important subjects of multicultural education, but educators should avoid ethnocentric judgments and prompting change in sex roles in cultures other than their own. Discussions of sexism in some minority cultures may result in students from those cultures questioning the worth of their own cultural background. Multicultural education stresses the worth of all cultures.

3. Educators are required by law to behave in non-sexist ways. They can practice a model of non-sexism without compromising their respect for different cultural values and practices. Opportunities for non-sexist behavior and knowledge should always be available to all students. Generally, students should be free to choose their own cultural affiliations, but they should also initiate this choice on their own. Provide for the freedom but forego the proselytizing.

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THE POTENTIAL FOR JOINT TRAINING SESSIONS ON WOMEN'S EQUITY ISSUES IN A COEDUCATIONAL BUSINESS CURRICULUM

Dennis J. Elbert

During the last decade many organizations have drastically changed their personnel policies and procedures regarding the recruitment, selection and training of women. The major reasons for this change has come primarily from Affirmative Action programs and Equal Employment Opportunity guidelines. Areas and jobs that have traditionally been male-dominated are now being effectively handled by women. To accomplish this change, roles have reversed, job titles and job descriptions have been redesigned, and training, education and career planning and development programs have been initiated. Educational institutions are also starting to initiate change through new programs, adult and continuing education and curriculum modification.

The change process has been part of the attempt to eliminate discrimination against women and other minority groups. Legislation has provided the impetus, causing organizations to act. Actual legislation barring discrimination against individuals of minority groups is certainly not new. The U.S. Constitution includes several amendments, which have been substantiated by court decisions, barring discrimination on the basis of sex, race or national origin. As a matter of record Congress did little to initiate dramatic action on equal employment issues until the early 1960s. "They were finally prompted to act primarily as a result of civil unrest among the minorities and women,"¹ who ultimately were protected as a result of the legislation. Table 1 contains a summary of important Equal Employment Legislation.

In spite of the fact that there is structured legislation protecting their rights, and in spite of the fact that organizations are striving to change and comply for both legalistic humanistic reasons, women still face major barriers in the workforce. The underutilization of women in workforce administrative and managerial positions exemplifies their situation. As indicated in Table 2, 15 percent of all employed white males occupied managerial and administrative positions, while the percentage figures for non-white males and nonwhite females was less than six percent. The same data indicates that less than three percent of all

Table 1. Summary of Important Recent Equal Employment Legislation

Legislation	What It Does
Title VII of 1964 Civil Rights Act, as amended	Bars discrimination because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin; and instituted EEOC
Executive Orders	Prohibit employment discrimination by employers with federal contracts of more than \$10,000 (and their subcontractors); establish office of federal compliance; require affirmative action programs
EEOC guidelines	Guidelines covering discrimination based on sex, national origin, and religion, as well as employee selection procedures; for example, require validation of tests
Court decisions: GRIGGS v. DUKE POWER CO.	The court ruled that: job requirements must be related to job success; discrimination need not be overt; the burden of proof is on the defendant to prove the qualification is valid.
Equal Pay Act of 1963	Equal pay for men and women must be provided for performing similar work
Age discrimination in Employment Act of 1967	Prohibits discriminating against a person 40-65 in any area of employment because of age
State and local laws	Often cover organizations too small to be covered by federal law

Source: Gary Dessler, Personnel Management: Modern Concepts and Techniques, (Reston, Virginia: Reston Publishing, Company, Inc., 1978), p. 388.

working nonwhite females were employed in administrative or managerial type positions. The information shows that white women and minority men and women do not share proportionately in administrative and managerial positions as compared with white males.

Table 2. Percentage of Workers in Managerial and Administrative Positions

Year	White		Black and Other	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
1968	14.7	4.9	3.6	1.6
1972	14.0	4.8	4.8	2.3
1976	15.0	5.9	5.8	2.8

Source: U.S. Department of Labor Statistics, Handbook of Labor Statistics 1977, Bulletin #1966, Table 18, pp. 58-61

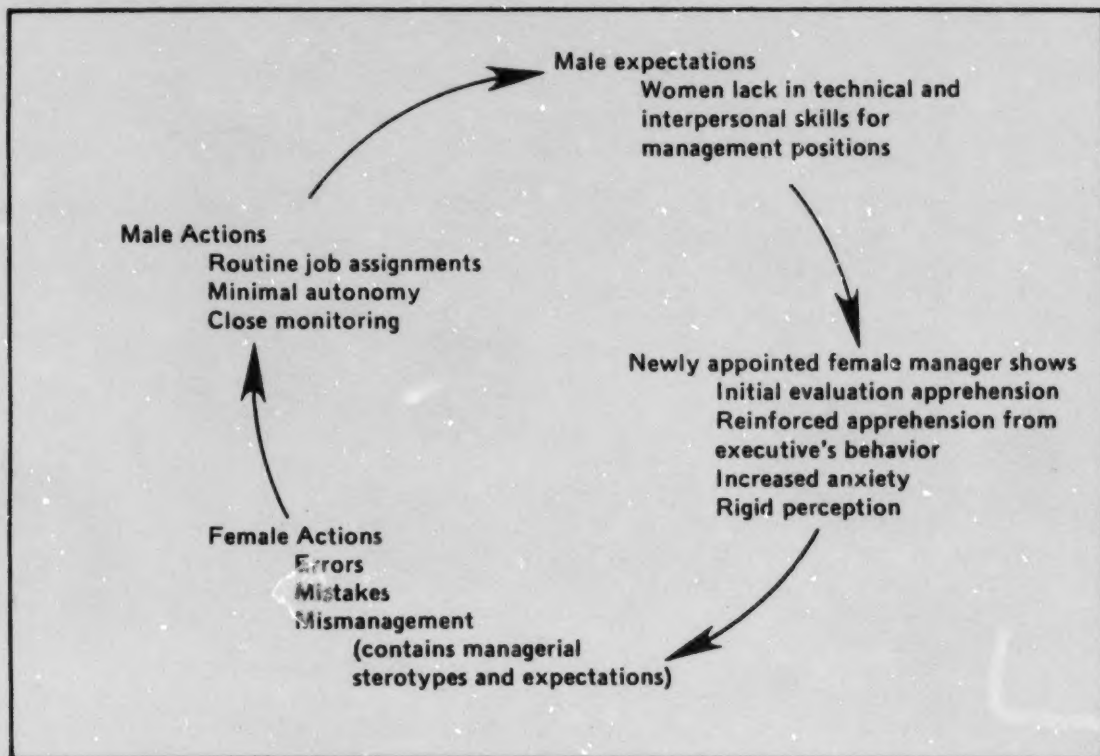
What are the causes of these inconsistencies and if there are legitimate causes, how can they be modified? The formal structure is already in place as a result of current legislation and court decision. Why then are there still inconsistencies and inequities in regard to women in the workforce? Research indicates that a variety of reasons relate to the problem. One often cited reason is the impact of stereotyping in the selection of people for managerial positions. Stereotypes are prejudiced, positive or negative categories into which we tend to shove people, whether they fit or not. The stereotypes normally attached to minorities and women are totally opposite of the characteristics typically associated with individuals in leadership positions. One study revealed that male and female college students associated leadership traits with males but not with females. Women were viewed as talkative, tactful, gentle, neat and security-conscious whereas men were viewed as aggressive, independent, unemotional, objective, dominant, and competitive.²

When job assignments are made, women have been vulnerable to varying degrees of differential treatment. In certain situations, allegations have been made that job assignments for women are relegated to organizational housekeeping roles, attention to details and neatness, making coffee and drinks and taking minutes at meetings.³ Supervisors in

certain organizations have indicated that some women are more conservative, less confident, and tend to be less oriented to risk taking than their male counterparts. Schwartz and Waltjen, among many others, feel that for women to be equal they must feel equal, and women do not have the same self concept as males as relates to managerial behavior. They indicate that females typically defer to males as part of the socialization process. The hesitency to be assertive was likened to the high school prom, with all the females waiting to be chosen or invited to the dance. This "waiting to be asked" behavior if carried over into a career is perceived by males as noninterest in career opportunities.⁴ Figure 1 indicates the self fulfilling prophecy of male managerial expectations that unfortunately is too common in business organizations today.

Another limitation often cited in recent literature regarding experience and opportunity for women are the lack of mentors and role models. Older male executives are often hesitant to develop close working relationships with females, whereas a helping, guiding mentor-type relationship is not questioned where males are concerned.⁵ A report prepared by the Educational Testing Service of Princeton, New Jersey, related that fact that many women interested in management feel "graduate business education is designed and administered by men for men students."⁶ We are in a transition period, however, and the situation is changing rapidly. Today significant numbers of women are involved in management careers and the related education and training process. Some male and female managers feel that given this process of change, no special treatment should be granted women, i.e., they must merge into the predominantly male managerial group on their own. Many others feel that this period requires the creation and development of management courses exclusively designed for women. The rationale is that traditional management courses primarily consisting of men merely replicates the work environment most women face daily. A variety of reasons supporting the case for separate training for women appear to be valid. Reasons include helping women develop their own support groups, stress on skill development of all participants as opposed to emphasis on a few women participants, variety of experiences available, differences in learning needs, lessening restrictions of traditional courses, association with role models, developing of contacts and career advising opportunities.⁷

The case for special training courses for women appear to be of value. Given the legislative changes, combined with the moral obligation to provide equal opportunity for women and minorities, most individuals would agree that something



should be done. The difficulty is developing just exactly what the "something" should be. The primary emphasis of the research and writing on the subject appears to discuss women's training in two areas. First of all, a support system is developed for separate, special training and then this training is described or at least alluded to being nonintroductory or nonpreparatory in nature and focus.

The second area relates to higher education where research such as Lee Tidball's indicates that the percentage of graduates from women's colleges who are recognized for career achievements is double that of women from coeducational institutions. Tidball indicates that the higher education environment which provides the best learning situation for women are women's colleges. In addition, she feels that women's colleges can provide significant role models for women faculty and students in coeducational settings.⁸ This information is interesting but not surprising. Given the learning environment of women's colleges (usually private with smaller enrollments and class size) most educators would anticipate more successful graduates. If similar research were conducted with men's colleges, one could anticipate similar results. However, the value of men's or women's colleges as opposed to coeducational settings is not the issue.

The issue is how can a coeducational institution, most of which are primarily oriented to undergraduate education, provide the proper kinds of awareness experiences for students enrolled in a business curriculum. The articles and research developed to date offer little practical guidance for the business educator. Some, like the research conducted by Gomez-Mejia and Balkin offer alternative activities such as Computer-Assisted Instruction (CAI), Classroom Seminars, Audio Tapes, Readings, and Exercises. These activities were used in a Management Development Program consisting of six courses including human resource management, financial management, problem analysis, planning and decision making in the corporate environment, leadership skills and team dynamics. They concluded that the training effect of management development programs is significantly higher for women than for men. However, when men and women were matched on relevant training and experience the differences were insignificant.⁹

At no other time in their careers are men and women more evenly matched in terms of training and experience than during their educational careers. If an awareness of the difficulties men and women may encounter in the work environment as relates to roles, discrimination and opportunity are to be discussed, how is this to be accomplished? In addition,

how can the educational awareness activities be structured to effectively reach the male and female students in the classroom. The coeducational business classroom offers both problems and opportunities. At the same time women managers of the future are being educated, male managers of the future are being educated. Why not utilize this joint opportunity to good advantage?

Organizations traditionally utilize similar types of learning and development procedures for developing both male and female executives. Typical training methods include (1) on the job training, (2) formal training programs, (3) outside study programs and (4) participation in conferences.¹⁰ Since the undergraduate program in business today offers components of all of these including internship and practicum on the job experiences, essentially the business educator has the opportunity to incorporate elements of many methods in the traditional classroom environment.

The topics included under the umbrella of women's studies and training in the business academic environment probably fit most directly in courses like Personnel Management and Organizational Behavior. There are a variety of films, cassettes, readings, simulations, activities and experiential exercises available. The two concerns that most educators ponder in the activities selection process are the method selected provide hands on experience and a definite learning objective. If the student can say, "Now I understand!" after going through the experience, the goal will have been accomplished. Readings manuals like Personnel Management: The Utilization of Human Resources by Chruden and Sherman contain a number of articles which would be of value. Suggested readings from this manual include "Why Can't A Woman Be More Like A Man?" by Clair Berman, "Equal Opportunity For Women to Smart Business" by M. Barbara Bayle, and "Why Women Take-and-Keep-Low Paying Jobs" by Mary Rowe.¹¹

Once a base has been developed through lectures, readings, etc., structured experiences can provide an excellent hands on learning experience. A manual developed by Carney and McMahon entitled, Exploring Contemporary Male/Female Roles, provides over twenty activities which are valuable in the classroom learning environment. Structured experiences like "Role Reversal: A Meditation," "What Are Little Girls/Boys Made Of?--An Awareness Activity," "Sex-Role Attitudes: A Role Reversal," "Toward a Nonsexist Language: Gaining Insights," and "Typical Behavior: Sex-Role Exploration," are all potential activities. In addition to the activities, the Carney and McMahon guide includes several instruments and readings.¹² Other suggested sources for activities are

Values Clarification,¹³ Structured Experiences Volumes I-VII,¹⁴ The Role-Play Technique,¹⁵ Annual Handbooks for Group Facilitators¹⁶ and Personnel Management in Action: Skill Building Experiences.¹⁷ The list of potential sources is certainly not meant to be all inclusive nor totally representative, they are merely good resources for classroom training activities.

An educator is limited only by one's imagination in the creation and use of structured experiences as relates to a variety of skill building areas. The opportunity to use them effectively in the business classroom for women's equity education is excellent. The coeducational business classroom should be viewed as an excellent site and opportunity for learning. Writers who view special training for women as being appropriate only at the nonintroductory level are missing an excellent opportunity to aid future managers of both sexes. The issue of equal employment opportunities for all individuals is part of our everyday life in the United States. It will certainly be part of the organizational and corporate life of most college business graduates. Business educators need to address the issue in the classroom and not in segregated settings. Utilize the coeducational environment wisely and for good purpose. Once a student graduates the opportunity is lost forever!

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INTEGRATING WOMEN'S ISSUES INTO THE COURSE
HUMAN BEHAVIOR IN THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT
(SOCIAL WORK 346)

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Women are one of the largest special population groups which social workers must address. In spite of this, sexism exists at many different levels both within the practice of social work and within Social Work education. It has become obvious that in order for social services to adequately address the needs of women there must exist as a foundation, a realistic non-sexist education program.

Some social work programs have attempted to counter sexism by addressing women's studies and issues through special topic courses or seminars. This discriminatory approach demonstrates that an isolated view of women is common. Women's issues must be integrated into the total educational environment and curriculum of educational institutions.¹ In order to teach adequately about the contemporary woman, there must be women's studies content integrated into each of the five curriculum components which comprise every baccalaureate Social Work program within the country: Social Policy, Social Research, Practice Skills, Field Placement, and Human Behavior in the Social Environment. This last component should contain material on the social, cultural, political and economic development of women, on changing institutions of marriage and the family, women in crises (battered wife, widowed, and divorced), the changing role of women, and the adult development of women within a cultural diversity social systems frame of reference.

Throughout this paper cultural diversity will be used as a way to relate and organize specific knowledge about the adult development of the woman in a social systems context. Cultural diversity emphasizes difference rather than normalcy, and will show how the divergent objectives and social patterns which characterize diverse groups affect human development throughout the life cycle. Difference is seen from a perspective of cultural relativity in which diverse group activities and characteristics are equally valid attempts to perform life tasks. An example of cultural diversity is the lesbian couple, where each member of the dyad is fulfilling emotional, intimacy and sexual needs in a manner that is diverse from that of heterosexual couples.

Although this paper is discussing the human development of women in a social systems context, it is important to remember the diversity of women as a powerless majority which include those who are rich and poor, lesbian and heterosexual, physically handicapped and those not handicapped, black, oriental and caucasian. In the past we looked at human development from the medical model which views many problems in social living as types of illness. This point of view leads to the conclusion that people with such problems need treatment; therefore a woman with problems in social living became a patient and patients must have therapists or doctors. A patient in the root sense of the word is someone who is helped by having things done for her. A second and related source of current approaches to adult development is the individualistic psychology which provides a theoretical view of emphasizing an individual's thoughts, feelings, values and behaviors while disregarding the sociocultural settings in which they emerge. Further, in reviewing curricula in programs that prepare people for the helping professions, it is obvious that the emphasis is placed on the study of the individual rather than on the study of individuals in the context of social systems in which they live out their lives. This overemphasis has led us to blame people for problems that originate with society. Blaming the victim prevents us from seeing the real causes of certain social problems.²

In fact, more insensitivity to the context of human development within the social environment has resulted in widespread failure on the part of the helping professions and those who are influenced by them to reflect in practice the distinction between "troubles" and "issues." Troubles are the personal difficulties of particular individuals, while issues are difficulties resulting from the social structures within which people live out their lives.³ A severe case of depression in a woman is a "trouble." Chronic lowered self-esteem in women compared to men is an "issue." Social workers have tended to respond to individual troubles at the expense of dealing with issues of human-system functioning.

This paper will focus on the belief that human development takes place within the context of diverse social settings, and that organizations, institutions, community and culture itself is a powerful context for human development. The author's intent is to offer a working model for the development of women in social systems. A model can be defined as a visual portrayal of how things actually work or how they should work under ideal conditions.⁴ The model is based on the familiar Lewinian equation: $B = F(P \times E)$, in which B(behavior) is a F(unction) of the interaction between

P(erson) and E(nvironment). The adaption is $HD = f(P \times S) \times (S \times S)$, or H(uman) D(evelopment) is a f(unction) of the interaction between P(eople) and the human S(ystems) in which they are involved, and of the interaction of these s(ystems) with one another. The three basic elements of the equation are the three basic elements of the model:

People (P). This refers to individual human beings moving through the developmental stages of life, undertaking lifelong and stage-specific developmental tasks and coping with lifelong and stage-specific development crises. (For the purpose of this paper, people will be defined as adult women.)

Human systems (S). This refers to the groups to which individuals belong and by which their lives are affected and in the context of which they move through life stages, developmental tasks and cope with developmental crises.

A system is a set of components that affect or influence one another. A human system is one in which the components are people, including people's history and culture as these affect the system in the present. Examples of human systems are families, schools, businesses, neighborhoods, governments and voluntary associations. Systems world refers to the fact that all influence and are influenced by human systems.⁵

When using a systems approach to analyze the adult development of women the following categories of systems will be helpful: Microsystems, the mesosystem, the exosystem and the macrosystem.⁶ The following is a description of each of these categories.

1. Microsystems, or personal setting. These are the small immediate systems of everyday lives. Examples of important personal settings are the family and friendship groups, immediate work settings, and classrooms.
2. The mesosystem, or network of personal settings. At this second level we find the network of personal settings and the interactions among them.
3. The exosystem, or the larger institution of society which refers to those larger systems that do not directly and immediately envelop

us but do influence us, our personal systems and the network of our personal systems. Such institutions as governmental agencies, the economic systems, the business world and religious organizations have profound effects on individuals, families and neighborhoods. This level of systems also includes interactions among organizations.

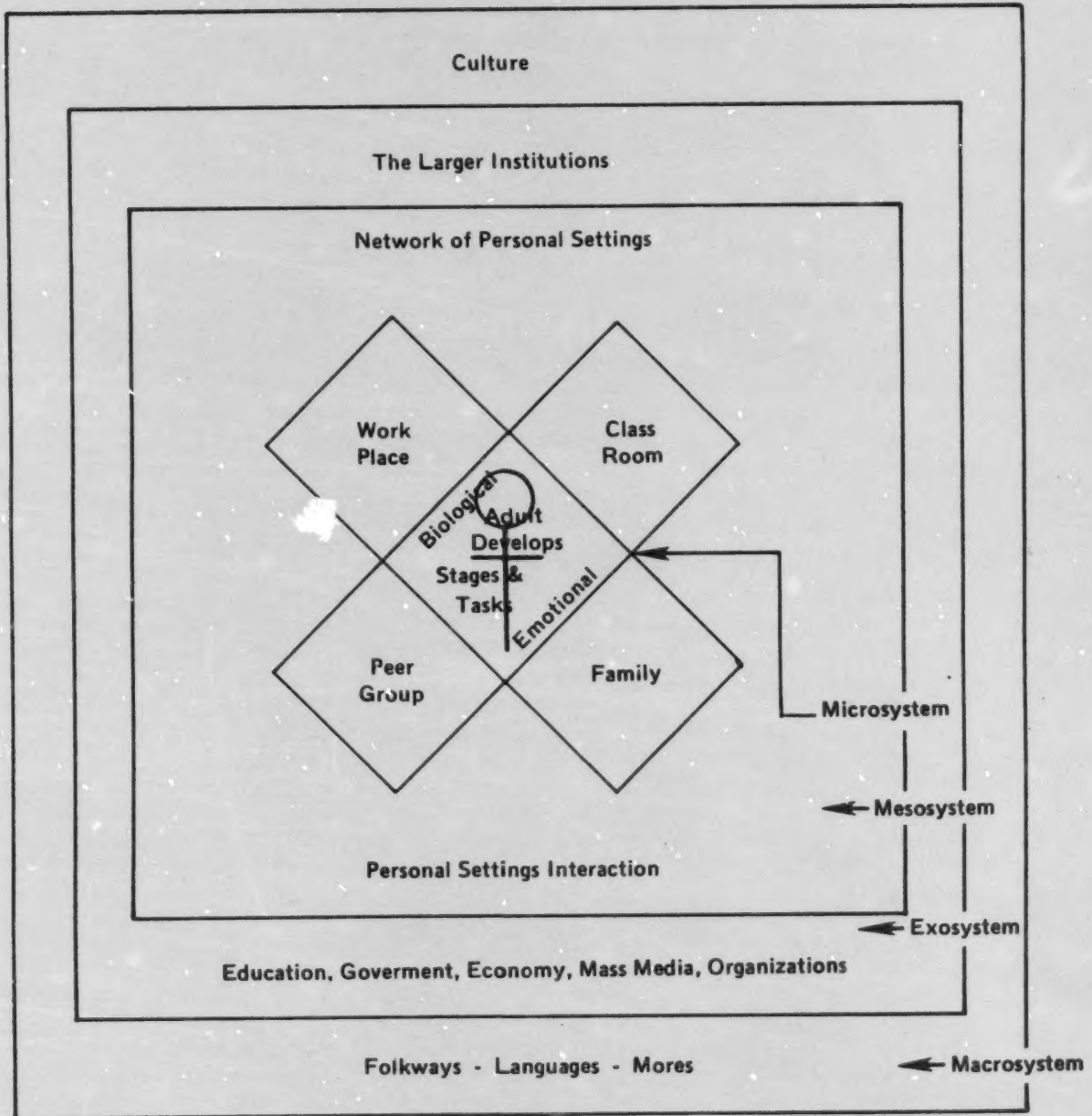
4. The macrosystem, or culture. This is the most pervasive level of systems, and refers not to particular individuals, organizations, or institutions, but rather to the culture that shapes them. Culture is defined in Webster's dictionary as "the customary beliefs, social forms and material traits of racial, religious or social groups. Moreover, culture influences all the systems of our lives, just as it influences each of us as individuals.

Please refer to Figure 1, "The Adult Development of Women Within a Cultural Diverse Social Systems Context." This model encapsules the basic concepts of the paper and contains the key issues and topics that will be taught in the Human Behavior in the Social Environment course that the author teaches. This model and the remainder of the paper will portray how women's issues will be integrated into all of the key conceptual areas for the total course. The remainder of the paper will be dealing with the women's human development within all of the levels of social systems, as portrayed in Figure 1.

First the paper will deal with the microsystem issues of human development and go on to discuss women's issues in the remaining social systems including the Macro system. It is obvious that some of the issues regarding women could be discussed in each of the four social systems. For example, math anxiety that women experience could be discussed from a biological (microsystem) and classroom experience (the mesosystem) and on to the concept that it is culture through its socialization process that discourages females from excelling and performing well in math and its related fields (the macrosystem). Mental health for women is another issue that could be discussed on many system levels from the intra-personal depression of women (microsystem) to (the macrosystem) culturally influenced female roles for women that cause the depression. Decisions to include topics in a particular system as opposed to another system have been arbitrarily made by this author.

FIGURE 1

The Adult Development of Women
Within a Cultural Diverse Social System Context



$$HD = F(P (W) \leftrightarrow S) \times (S \leftrightarrow S)$$

Human Diversity is a function of the interrraction between people and the Human System in which they are involved and of the interaction of these systems with one another.

The Microsystem of a Woman

(Biological and Emotional Development)

Differences between people are both unavoidable (biologically founded) and created by cultural and social definitions. Biological characteristics inherited at birth provide the most fundamental type of diversity within the human species. Through one's genetic inheritance, several externally visible characteristics are given to individuals which distinguish them from others and include racial, gender, age characteristics, physical appearance and ability.

A woman's genetic inheritance is the basis for her individual biological uniqueness. Genetic inheritance establishes a growth potential for each individual which sets limits on behavioral possibilities and which establishes the need for developmental conditions. An especially important part of a person's genetic inheritance is the ability to tolerate stress, and ways in which an organism responds to physical or social conditions which exceed stress tolerance levels and are likely to result in some level of breakdown.

It is of utmost importance for women to develop knowledge and skills to both keep the body intact and free from disease as well as to make their body a source of energy to be used artfully. For generations the skills of physical fitness had almost been off limits for women. However, the decade of the seventies has almost seen a revolution as far as involvement of women in physical fitness activities. A recent editorial in the Washington Post entitled "They Don't Run Like Girls Anymore"⁷ discusses the new physical fitness for women and the interest women have in remaining physically healthy throughout their life cycle. The article goes on to say, "They don't run with their arms flailing the air, with their bodies fighting their forward motion. They run like men. And they do it awfully well."

Eating a balanced diet is certainly related to physical fitness and the working knowledge that leads to good eating habits can be learned early in life. Dieting skills include a knowledge of human nutrition and the ability to control weight in ways that respect the integrity of the body. However within the past five years physicians and mental health therapists have seen a vast increase in eating disorders for young women. These disorders include Anorexia Nervosa⁸ (starving one's self to death) and Bolemia⁹ (induced vomiting several times a day). Both disorders can eventually lead to malnutrition and death and are really reflections of the society at large that encourages slim

living and at the same time pushes the good food and gourmet eating in its mass media. These eating disorders are mainly found among the female population.

Included in the skills of personal health care for a woman is the ability to handle basic human maladies such as a cold, practical hygiene such as a daily dental care and the full working knowledge of her reproductive organs. For example, despite the fact that there is not supportive data, the idea persists that dysmenorrhea, nausea of pregnancy, labor pain and infant behavioral disturbance (i.e., colic) are psychogenic in origin. Many research studies clearly outline organic causes for these conditions. However, there is a widespread view among doctors and medical educators that the underlying causes for these female conditions are emotional and that the patient whose symptoms are psychogenic is not entitled to much symptomatic relief. It is felt that this suggests possible sexual prejudice in view of the fact that all these conditions affect women, whereas the majority of specialists and textbook authors are men.¹⁰

In addition, health and mortality statistics show repeatedly that U.S. females have higher illness rates than males but lower death rates. Women are more likely to have higher rates for acute conditions (pregnancy related events excluded) on all counts except for injuries. They are more prone to stomach aches, headaches and backaches than men. The reason suggested for this phenomena is that women are more concerned about their ill health, more likely to report it, and have fewer time constraints.¹¹

Physical attractiveness is highly prized in our society; in fact most people agree that it is over-emphasized. Research indicates that physically attractive people often receive preferential treatment that they do not merit.¹² It would be useful to give women a working knowledge of the effects of physical attractiveness in order to demythologize it, thus eliminating its use as an instrument of manipulation. Everyone, by learning basic grooming skills at a relatively young age, could become less susceptible to the claims of the advertisers of beauty products.

Research indicates the higher incidence of depression among women than men and it is suggested that variables such as role, employment and socioeconomic status are mitigating factors in this depression. Bernard¹³ feels that their bonding and attachment style renders women more vulnerable to social deprivation and depression. She advocates the reinstitution of women's supportive networks and women learning to be friends with each other. Sadly, while women suffer a higher

incidence of depression because of sex role and social role expectations, mental health clinicians still diagnose a woman and treat her according to stereotypic sex roles. Also adult mental health behavioral attributes will more often be considered by clinicians as appropriate for men rather than for women.¹⁴

Clinicians need to critically examine their attitudes concerning sex role stereotypes. Promotion of mental health should be based on maximum realization of individual potential rather than on adjustment to existing sex roles. Sex roles that researchers believe are related to mental illness include role restriction, the family as the single gratification source, housework as a low prestige and often demanding position, discrimination in the job market and the strain of both working and doing household chores as well as unclear expectations about the correct female sex role.¹⁵

The Mesosystem of a Woman

The Mesosystem of a woman includes the network of personal settings and the personal settings interaction. This section will deal with the following network of personal settings; the peer group, the family and the workplace. Since the educational system will be discussed in the exosystem, it will not be discussed in this system.

A Peer Group Composed of Women

Although women's groups talk about women bonding, women's networks and women's peer groups, we still see a great deal of self-hatred among women that is projected onto other women. When society views a group as inferior members of that group who internalize societal beliefs come to hate themselves because they belong to the group. Often a group member will reserve hatred for other members of the group by placing herself outside the boundaries of the group. One way to do this is to identify with the dominant group and avoid close relationships with members of one's own group. In the case of women, self-hatred is often expressed when women boast that "all of my close friends are men." In some cases, hatred is limited to certain subgroups. In the case of women, it is not unusual, for example, to discover traditional women finding fault with career women. Clearly, self-hatred leads to little group cohesion or support for group members.¹⁶

Goldberg¹⁷ found that even college women continue to

consider their own sex to be inferior to men, despite their apparent support of equality between the sexes. When comparing the abilities of male and female professional competence, they by and large favored the competence of the male.

Non-Traditional Family Styles

Since this paper deals with a cultural diversity frame of reference, the family as one of the networks of personal settings will be viewed from a non-traditional approach. Therefore the lesbian relationship, single parent relationships, choosing to remain single, widowhood and wife abuse will be addressed rather than discussing the nuclear family.

Lesbians experience the double jeopardy of belonging to two minority groups, but in spite of this a recent survey found that lesbians are as well adjusted psychologically as heterosexual women. When lesbians have a marital relationship it was found that female homosexuals adopt differentiated sex roles. One will perform the quasi husband's role; that person is likely to be older, have a higher income and be more faithful sexually than the lesbian playing the traditional female role.¹⁹ When children of lesbians were interviewed it was found that the most difficult issues for them were the reactions from peers, whether their sexuality would be influenced, the addition of the mother's love to the family, and in some cases shielding the father from the mother's secret. However, many of the children's reactions paralleled those found in situations in which a newly divorced mother begins to date or live with a man. However, almost without exception, the children accepted their mother's new lifestyle and were proud of her for standing up for what she believed. This support was not easy for them since they lacked the approval of both family and society.²⁰ In general, gay women receive minimal support from their family of origin. Religious institutions were perceived as unsupportive and even threatening. In addition, lesbians feel that the media gives more attention to male homosexuals while lesbians were often not taken seriously. Most felt a great deal of pressure to act straight on the job. Overwhelmingly, the gay community was indicated as the primary source of emotional support for the lesbians in this study. Also the helping professions continue to be judgmental and subjective in their attitudes toward gay women.²¹

Single Parents

A survey of literature on single parents and their

families found that demographic status, events during the divorce process, and the presence or absence of social supports for the mother and family following divorce are more significant variables than "father absence" alone in the single families' children.²²

Ross²³ discusses single parenthood for most women as a time of transition between one nuclear family and another-- a transition which often lasts for five or six years. However, there is a disproportionate rate of single-parent families headed by women in the black community with low remarriage rates. Research seems to suggest that a greater proportion of single black women receive welfare benefits than any other social group, and this seems to suggest that in various ways a growing dependence on welfare inhibits remarriage for these women. There is a need for increased policy attention and support to single parent families headed by women, as research indicates that death and divorce are more prevalent among poor families. There are also fewer opportunities for female heads of households to work and these women earn lower wages than men when they do work. There are unique problems in single-parent families. Thus possible income-support alternatives should be a priority consideration for policymakers.²⁴

The Single Woman

In the past those women who chose to remain single were accused of being lesbian, or it was hinted that it was not the woman who chose to remain single but rather that no man chose her for a wife. Single women were also branded as being unstable emotionally and not being fulfilled as a woman. However, in a recent research study attempting to determine if single women experienced less than full human development and fulfillment, it was found that the never-married subjects expressed no feelings of frustration and no sense of not being a whole person as a consequence of not being married. They derived their sense of personal worth from their social function as a human being rather than a biological one.²⁵ There are many issues and unique concerns that affect women who are alone. These concerns include social, economic, political, cultural and sexual forces; for example, the complex economics of singleness for women as they struggle with the male dominated legal and economic system are difficult. However, there is an increasing value placed on women's organizations, especially the advent of single women joining together to build networks geared toward their unique needs.²⁶

Widowhood

Widowhood is not necessarily an old-age phenomenon. The average age at which widowhood occurs in America is 56 years. Frequently, widows are faced with financial problems, the challenge of finding a fulfilling job (often after being a housewife for years), and a need to find new supportive personal relationships. Thus the stereotypic view of widows as grayhaired grandmothers who have already lived most of their lives and who have lovely memories to live on hardly fits the reality of the life situations of many widows today.²⁷

Violence Toward Women

We are a violent society, we beat our children, husbands batter their wives and in old age, the prevalence of an aging female being abused is as high as that of child abuse.²⁸ The feminist movement has stimulated the growth of national awareness of the dimensions of the issue of the battered woman. Wife abuse seems to cut across class, ethnic and racial lines. For some men legal marriage serves as a confirmation of their right to beat their woman. Battered is defined as harassment, menacing, reckless endangerment, or assault. There is a long tradition of wife beating--but why does it occur? There used to be the myth that wives provoke, deserve, and enjoy being beaten. However, no self-report from the beaten women suggests that they enjoy being beaten. Anecdotal accounts by wives describe their husbands as very jealous, very controlling, easily angered, or raised in homes in which they witnessed or were victims of abuse. In fact there is no one kind of male who is a batterer.

It has been asked oftentimes, "Why does a wife who has been beaten by her husband stay with him?" It was found that three major factors influenced the actions of abused wives. The less severe and less frequent the violence, the more a woman will remain with her spouse and not seek help. The more violence a woman has received as a child, the more likelihood that she will remain in the abusive situation, and wives who do not seek intervention are less likely to have completed high school and more likely to be unemployed. In essence the fewer the resources the woman has, the less power she has, and the more she will suffer abuse without responding.²⁹

Work Aspiration and Choice

Defining the meaning of work for women has been a difficult task. The American social system traditionally has not prepared many women adequately for involvement in the paid labor force. That literature which focuses on American occupation involvement is based on male work histories. This neglect of the different work patterns of women exacerbates the problem of defining the meaning of work for women. Value systems change slowly. American women are still not expected to consider work outside the home as an equal alternative to their "natural" roles of wife and mother nor as parallel to these roles. Work is viewed as a secondary role for women regardless of age or familial status. It is expected to be a primary role only for the unmarried woman.

The following summaries of research on the effects of work on a woman's marriage, role as a mother and her own self esteem and depressed state indicates that the work role for a woman provides benefits to many of the systems that she is influencing and influenced by.

Booth³⁰ found that the transitions between employed and unemployed roles produces some stress for the female, although it is thought to be short lived. The stress may stem from adjusting to the division of labor within the family as well as from modifying individual schedules and routines. Other data suggest the wife's employment has little effect on the marital discord and stress experienced by the husband. If anything, husbands whose wives are employed enjoy a happier marriage and are under less stress than men who are married to housewives. Hoffman and Nye indicate that current research suggests that women who obtain personal satisfaction in their employment, who do not feel excessive guilt about work, and who have adequate household arrangements are likely to perform as a mother as well or better than the non-working mother. Mostow³² cites various studies which suggest that employment outside the home has psychological benefits for middle and upper-class women. Data suggested that working women recover from periods of depression more quickly than did the housewives. In addition, working women felt more competent in their work, were less bored in their free time and were more at ease in social situations than were the housewives. This finding suggests that work may serve as a protection and diversion in depressed women regardless of social class.

Newberry³³ found that working women derived considerable more satisfaction from their outside jobs than did the housewives from their work in the home. Newberry contends

that the observed differences in the assessments of the work roles of working wives and housewives are not in the women or in their mental status, but in the roles themselves and the intrinsic satisfaction these roles provide.

Moser³⁴ indicates that future trends maintain there will be an increase in the number of women returning to work, and in the number of years of participation, due to an increased divorce rate, a shift from the three to two-child family, and changing child raising patterns.

The Exosystem

The Larger Institutions

The Exosystem includes the major institutions of the society: educational, governmental, mass media, economics, and organizations as they operate on a concrete level. For example the report of a Carnegie commission that deals with child development in the United States suggests that the fundamental factor, or exosystemic, one, is that of stable employment opportunities for family heads. Affecting the stability of a family then is not a psychological but an economic, or exosystemic one--namely, stable employment opportunities for family heads. The institutional world is complex and confusing, with criss-crossing lines of influence that are difficult to discover and to trace. A great deal of research and investigation is needed concerning the relationship between this confusing world and human development. Actually research is needed on human development that goes beyond the immediate settings containing the person; there is a need to examine the larger contexts, both formal and informal, that affect events within the immediate setting.³⁵

Educational System

One of the largest organizations of the exosystem is the educational system. It is this system which reinforces values for all people and in a very obvious way reinforces values for female students. Most schools invest a great deal of their time and energy in teaching skills that relate to intellectual development, to the neglect of other life skills. However, this emphasis does not necessarily mean that schools perform this task well. As a matter of fact, we have female students who struggle with math anxiety, the consequences of which is that many women students do not go beyond freshman math in high school. Yet, mathematical

competence of students is essential for full participation by all members of society.³⁶ It takes more than simple arithmetic to make decisions about investment, job, taxes, education, etc. However, in our society, young women appear especially to lack motivation or encouragement to succeed or excel in mathematics, an area usually considered a male domain. The stereotypic assumption that girls are neither good in math nor interested in the subject is especially harmful, since it creates an atmosphere in which young women fulfill this low-performance expectation. Opportunities are more plentiful in fields that require a math background, and salaries are much better. A great deal needs to be done to eliminate the effects of sexism from mathematical education and related professions. Socialization of teachers, counselors, and parents to encourage their female children to become interested in math is one strategy.³⁷

There are sex differences in achievement expectancies from a cognitive developmental point of view, according to a study by Pearsons and Small.³⁸ They studied kindergarten through fifth grade children and found that since the incorporation of the feminine sex-role stereotypes related to the lowering of one's feelings of competence, the girls developed lower estimates of their abilities than the boys. This was true for children as early as kindergarten age.

Stein and Bailey³⁹ found that females achieve well during the early school years, but appear more anxious about failure and less confident as they reached adolescence and adulthood because of pressure to adhere to feminine roles and because they internalize the low expectations of the culture for their continued achievement in the educational system. Possible socializing agents contributing to lower female expectations are parents and teachers who convey the information that they have lower expectancies for females. Indeed girls are channeled into narrowly defined sexual stereotypes at an early age in our educational system. Ways in which these roles are solidly reinforced by the public school system, such as the visible inequitable distribution of men and women throughout the school's hierarchy, which shows by example that men are seen as more powerful than women. Also sexism shows up in textbooks at all levels.

Female students should be encouraged in learning how to learn. The first step is to become familiar with and able to use the basic logic of problem-solving which has been with us formally since the time of Aristotle. This can be applied to solving intellectual puzzles and to handling problems in living. The four basic steps include: explore the problem, find a solution to the problem or a solution to

part of the problem, implement the solution, and evaluate the results.

While majority dominated educational systems can provide obstacles to the functioning of diverse group members, they can also facilitate changes in majority-minority group relations. Learning knowledge, values and skill useful in social institutions and social organizations of the larger society allows diverse groups such as women engineers and women in banking to function effectively with them.

Macrosystem

The fourth level of a social system refers not to particular individuals, organizations, or institutions, but rather to the culture that shapes them. Our culture envelops and pervades all individuals and organizations. Our culture shapes the most intimate dimensions of living in potent ways. We are all culture's children to a greater or lesser extent.

It is important to look at culture from a cultural diversity frame of reference, and in so doing one must look at various racial groups of women and the effects of culture on their functioning. For example, Iscoe and Harvery⁴⁰ found that when comparing black and white female students the black females were less conforming than white females and explained these findings in terms of sex role expectations and child-rearing methods of the two racial groups. The authors maintain that father absence in black families, leaving the mother as the sole authority figure, allows black girls more opportunity to get away with non-conforming behavior than white girls. Thorp and Meadow⁴¹ found that Mexican-American wives who speak English are more likely to adopt American marriage roles of believing in sexual fidelity for men as well as women, are less concerned about their housekeeper role, and have expectations of family togetherness than the less acculturated Mexican-American Spanish speaking respondents. The change in the status of females in the United States has had a strong impact on the traditional Chinese family in the United States. Chinese-American college women tend to feel alienated from and rebellious against traditional expectations of what is appropriate for Chinese females. Fong⁴² feels that Chinese women must demonstrate an unusual degree of self reliance and independence to make their way into higher education.

Beckett⁴³ found that black wives have a higher participation in the labor force than white wives, black wives who work full time tend to be from more stable and better

educated families than those who did not work full time, while white wives in full-time jobs have greater marital instability than other white wives. Black women are almost twice as likely to combine work with marriage than white women and have more confidence in their ability to pursue an occupation after marriage. Black husbands have a more positive attitude about their wives working than white husbands do. Negative attitudes of husbands regarding working wives have little effect on labor force participation among black wives. Black husbands tend to be more willing to make special accommodations to the needs of their working wives. Black wives are more likely to have traditional beliefs about family roles but behave in more equalitarian ways. The opposite is true for white wives. Beckett suggests that the attitudes and behaviors of black working wives and their families might provide the norms and models needed by white families in which the wife works or is thinking of entering the labor force.

Social definitions of diversity, whether based on biological or racial criteria, regardless of their accuracy become social reality. Thus, if women are defined as unable to make rational choices, they will be deprived of opportunities to do so regardless of their actual abilities.

Socialization may also encourage the internalization of negative self-concepts and group concepts. Research has found that women view other women who attempt to succeed within the white male context as less motivated and less expert and less likely to succeed in relationship to men.⁴⁴

Culture affects many other aspects of our society that have been discussed in other systems in this paper. For example, some social scientists believe that single parenthood is a product of a societal revolution rather than a product of marital disruption. It is believed that social change has significantly altered the traditionally held concept of parenthood. Along with the advent of sex role redefinition, and with the validity of the nuclear family coming into question, an increasing number of single people have broken down previously unchallenged barriers in their quest for parenthood without marriage.

Many feminists do not see wife beating as a reflection of the pathology of a single male or a group of deviant males, but rather that the use of force against some women serves to keep all women in their place in society. This also serves to keep women confined to low-paying, low-status jobs in restricted occupations which do not provide adequate support. Also, feminists see our legal system as being

instrumental in perpetuating wife abuse. The legal system in the then newly formed United States evolved from British common law which held that husbands had a right to chastise their wives. Up to the time of the Civil War it was felt that beating was for the wife's benefit, as it was assumed that all women were flighty and biologically unable to decide the right thing to do, it was up to the husbands to straighten them out. In fact there is a long cultural tradition of wife beating in Western patriarchal society, going as far back as biblical times.

In the treatment of mentally ill women, we continue to see the influence of our culture. A review of the literature from psychoanalytical, psychiatric, sociological and psychological sources show overwhelming evidence that the teachings and practice of mental health are based on dogma, unsubstantiated by empirical data and blatantly sexist in approach. Many women are still being labeled as sick because they do not conform to society's stereotypes of normal female behavior, and many practitioners do not consider social and cultural determinants in the treatment of women.⁴⁵

The cultural belief that competency and femininity are mutually exclusive still exists to a large extent in organizations and institutions. Women are represented with a classic double bind--that one can be feminine but incompetent or competent but masculine.

Some social scientists propose a model for societal change in which androgyny is encouraged by social scientists. For researchers have found that androgynous women possess a higher degree of self-esteem than stereotypically feminine and undifferentiated women and that a combination of masculine and feminine characteristics are beneficial for women in terms of self esteem and ego development.⁴⁶

Adults should socialize their children in different ways and education should be geared toward females as well as males. Women should develop themselves by means of techniques such as problem solution skills, assertiveness training, consciousness raising via the classroom, and workshops or self-help groups.

Adult Development of Women: Stages, Tasks and Roles

A basic theme of this paper is that in order to meet developmental needs of women, both the individual woman and the systems in which she lives must be kept in focus simultaneously. The professionals who work with people cannot

afford the constraints of a one-sided perspective, whether it favors the individual or the system. Development is an adaptive process. People and systems change in order to meet new demands that arise from the environment. On the other hand, individuals experience crises as they move through developmental stages and face developmental tasks. Since they experience these crises in the context of and sometimes because of the systems of their lives, professionals must be knowledgeable about social systems.

Up to this point, this paper has concentrated on social systems. Now the adult development of women with its stages, tasks, and roles will be reviewed. Figure 2, Developmental Stages and Chronological Ages for Males and Females, illustrates how important it is to view both male and female developmental stages and tasks in order to note the diversity and variations contained in the development of the two sexes. The following material will deal with different tasks and stages our society is demanding of women as opposed to the demands it makes on the males.

Women's Stages, Tasks, and Roles

In looking at a woman's adult roles over her life cycle, a number of major themes will emerge within each stage. These include the demands for adaptation created by women's roles, the relationship between expanded role involvements and satisfaction, the decreasing role demands with age and the psychological growth of women in their later years.

Young Adulthood 18-22

The stress of choosing a work role is not felt as strongly by most women. Socialization has emphasized marriage as their central adult role, with activities subordinate to and depending on their future family functions. Work choices are provisional and viewed as temporary. Women also maintain a tentativeness in their search for personal identity. Their sense of self is less clearly defined as they wait for marriage to provide a context for their lives. Women also retain a stronger dependency on others for support, approval, and direction. In many ways they avoid the stress of independent decision making felt by men during this period and retain a malleability that may be adaptive for marital adjustment.



Choosing Life Roles 22-24

In traditional marriages the new wife has major responsibility for the household, while the husband engages in the outside world for their joint benefit. This task deviation is seen as complementary. In early marriage the wife appears to thrive in her new role despite its demands. For both male and female early marriage is a highly satisfying time, well meriting its status as a honeymoon period.

However, women with career goals struggle to establish their professional status within a social environment that is often indifference or active resistance to their effort. If a woman is married she must combine the time-consuming role demands of her career with her home responsibility. If she is single she faces mounting concerns from parents and friends as her age mates join the married majority. It is not surprising that some female careerists have lower self-esteem and more doubts about themselves than their traditional counterparts during this period.

The Parental Role 25-29

This is the time when most women are completely immersed in their role as mother. The birth of a child not only plunges a woman into a central new role but it also restructures her entire role constellation. The intense involvement between husband and wife which characterized early marriage diminishes after parenthood. The profound changes that occur after childbirth constitute a life crisis for most couples with children. The decisions women make during this stage, such as childbearing, delaying child bearing or career pursuits, create a life structure that defines their subsequent lives.

Readjustment 30-34

Women experience a transition point before their mid-thirties. Women who do not develop independence from parents, husbands and children during that time will remain immature throughout the rest of their lives. The woman's discovery of her own life when her children enter school can constitute a major identity crisis. Her earliest preparation for wife and mother roles has not prepared her for their short-term centrality. She may also suffer from feelings of not being needed. This is a time for going beyond the home. Women may seek new sources of satisfaction to maintain their faltering sense of self-worth. A woman's exploration of life

paths in her early thirties bears strong resemblance to the initial efforts of the young man to establish himself ten years earlier. This is the age when an increasing number of women enter college.

Becoming One's Own Person 34-43

The centrality of mentors in men's careers may have a parallel in women's dependence on husbands. Women may have to free themselves from their different and possibly stronger dependency before becoming their own persons. They seek a clarity about their future life direction. Commitments deepen. The person constructs a stable life-style, maybe because people feel conscious of reaching life's halfway point. Marriages are low in satisfaction. Parents with adolescents find this period most difficult.

Mid-life Crisis, Menopause and Empty Nest 44-47

Many women react positively to the empty nest and have fewer depressed symptoms than was previously thought. There is trouble if a woman believes that she is defined by child-bearing and taking care of children.

Mellowing 48-60

Middle age can be a time of new possibilities. People may show high levels of self satisfaction. New problems will emerge, such as the death of one's parents. Many people become unsettled by the upsurge in illness and death among their peers. There is a danger of mental illness for women who have maintained their traditional role, but women who are highly educated are less prone to this depression. Women's feeling about marriage show marked improvement once children leave home. They play a more adamant role in marital decisions. Marital satisfaction is much higher for working wives than for non working wives. The diversity of role involvement seems to relate to life satisfaction. Many women attain both personal growth and new satisfaction during this period.

Old Age 61 and Over

When people reach their sixties they enter a new and final state in the life cycle. They confront the loss of many highly valued roles. The loss of one's own spouse may

Figure II

Developmental Stages and Chronological Ages for Males and Females

Developmental Tasks/ Marker Events	Development Stages and Chronological Ages						
	Pulling Up Roots (16-21)	Getting Into Adult World (22-28)	Putting Down Roots (29-36)	Mid-Life Transition (37-43)	Middle Adulthood (44-50)	Late Adulthood (51-60)	Old Age (61 & Over)
	Leaving the Family-Individual separates physically, psychologically, socially. Sex roles clarified & specified.	Life structure constructed. Life commitments made as irrevocable. Develop capacity for intimacy.	Rooting and extending. Disenchantment with mentor. First signs of aging.	Time shift-growing up to growing old. Traumatic passage. Sex role identity shift.	Restabilization. Best time of life. Renew social activities. Manage three-generation family relationships.	Review life course. Generativity. Mellowing. Accept & adjust to physiological aging process.	Retirement preparation. Life review. Search for security & financial support. Aging process accelerated. Integrity vs. Despair
	Select college or first job. Search for mate and mentor. Peer groups sustain separation.	Build the dream. Complete education. Initial career launched. Secure a mate. Secure a mentor.	BOOM. Deepen pursuit of dream-competitive climb, establish success. Physical fitness.	Dream-Reality gap. Occupational die is cast. Compromises made. Marital instability.	Dream reconciled. Mentor no longer needed. Serve as mentor to youth.	Capping a career. Creating social heirs. Sponsoring young. Increased conformity & passivity.	Retirement. Develop leisure interests. Travel. Renew friendships and family ties.
	Defining Identity-through parents, husband or self. Seeking mate. Select college or first job.	Build the nest. Secure a mate. Carry & support husband's dream. Bear children.	BOOM. All points survey. Family obligations high. Introspection & search for balance.	Empty nest syndrome. Begin build dream of own. New sense of self & youth. Seek career & education.	New Life constructed. Dream developed initial success. Complete education.	Pursuit of dream. Extension of career & success. Serve as mentor to youth.	No retirement. Capping a career. Rehearsal for widowhood.

Sources: Levinson (1974, 1976, 1977) and Gould (1972, 1975)

From ADULT LEARNING IN THE CONTEXT OF ADULT DEVELOPMENT by Timothy Lehmann, Empire State College, Saratoga Springs, New York, 1978. Reprinted by permission of Timothy Lehmann.

be the most extreme life crisis one can encounter. A spouse's death means that one has lost the person who often knew and cared most about one's life. Widowhood is a role that women fear more than men as they are likely to suffer extensive reduction in status and social opportunities when their husbands die. Sadly, it has been said that the aging female is considered ludicrous in our society. She is the recipient of ageism and sexism in all of its most negative forms. Jacobs⁴⁷ presents a typology of the older woman who, she states, is underemployed, underpaid, underfinanced, undervalued and underloved. The older woman, she continues, ranks disproportionately high among the nation's isolated mental hospital admission rates. Women who are more exclusively family focused found less satisfaction in later years. In fact most never developed feelings of self worth. This suggests that wives and mothers should expand their interests and involvements beyond the circle of the family, if their later years are not to become problematic.

Conclusion

This paper has been written with the main purpose of implementing a request from the Council of Social Work Education Commission on Accreditation, that of integrating content about women and cultural diversity into existing curriculum and course content through a conceptual framework.

Cultural diversity has been used as a way to relate and organize specific knowledge about the adult development of the woman in a social systems context for the social work class, Human Behavior in the Social Environment.

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SECOND-YEAR GERMAN: SEXIST CONTENT
IN GERMAN IN REVIEW

David C. Nelson

This investigation explores sexist content in the intermediate grammar text currently used by the German division in the Department of Modern and Classical Foreign Languages at the University of North Dakota--German in Review.¹ Adopted in 1970, it is a required text for second-year German: six chapters are taught each semester.

The detailed treatment of the corpus of German grammar in German in Review is exemplary. Straightforward, well-delineated grammatical analyses precede a variety of exercises to be performed by the student. The exercises themselves are pedagogically sound, and at times fairly animated. Painsstaking proofreading has kept the errata to a minimum. And each year (at teacher and text evaluation time) written student comments about this text are most favorable: "thorough," "beneficial," and "clearly presented" are common responses. Neither student nor professor would take issue with the author's prefatory remarks:

This book offers a systematic, workable solution to the problem of providing a truly comprehensive review of German grammar and usage. . . . Each chapter proceeds from a step-by-step explanation of a particular grammatical principle to extensive exercises and drills that require the student to apply the principle. (p. v, preface)

Whereas most textbooks are resold to the bookstore at year's end, many students keep this text, using it as a reference in future German courses.

To be sure, German in Review is a popular, thorough, widely used grammar.

Two years ago (Spring 1979) a textbook representative from Harcourt, Brace made his annual trip to UND, providing each German professor with information about his company's most recent publications. When asked if a new edition or revision of German in Review was available, he explained that the present edition (1967!) was so widely used and so well accepted that there was no need for a revision. In other

words, numerous teachers and professors had found this book to their liking--and satisfied customers are indeed an important consideration for the publisher.

Nevertheless, timely revisions--every several years--are necessary. The large sums spent by publishers (even when the present edition is a big seller) updating their offerings is money usually well spent. The reasons are obvious: misprints and mistakes must be corrected, photos updated, content reevaluated and improved.

Content, of course, plays a very important role in all texts, even in a German grammar (where it is at times apparently deemed of minor consequence), where clarity and structure are most often stressed. But the significance of content in grammar drills should not be underestimated, for the sensitive, observant student reacts to the message itself as well as to the grammatical construct under scrutiny.

In her informative article "Kultureller Chauvinismus im Grammatik-Drill"² Anneliese Stein points out numerous examples of prejudices, clichés, stereotypes, and sexist remarks she has gleaned from beginning German texts. Again citing first year German texts, Audrone Willeke and Ruth Sanders uncover many instances of sex bias.³ Their conclusion: "Typically, men are characterized as active, independent, strong, intelligent, and logical. Women are passive, dependent, emotional, and illogical; their physical appearance is stressed" (p. 63). With similar results, Rhoda Stern examined twenty-five foreign language textbooks published from 1970 through 1974.⁴ She makes a more general indictment, since the scope of her undertaking also includes Spanish, French, and Russian texts:

Under examination, each [text] is found to perpetrate the sex role stereotyping prevalent in America and foreign cultures. Whether by a female or male author, revised or a first edition, or considered non-sexist by the publisher, these texts, especially the college ones, overwhelmingly omit women or place them in mundane and eccentric roles. (p. 294)

None of these investigators, however, refers to or criticizes German in Review, most likely because their undertakings focused on first-year texts. Nevertheless, much of their criticism could be justifiably leveled against the book in question. In almost every chapter there is evidence of sex role stereotyping, from the rather innocuous ("Many nice girls are there." p. 67) to the blatantly offensive

("One doesn't say 'no' to beautiful ladies." p. 70).

In drilling the comparative form of adjectives and adverbs, the authors characterize Luise as "thin," "interesting," and "pretty;" Siegfried, however, is portrayed as (among other things) "proud," "intelligent," "brave," and "wise" (p. 80). And in the same chapter the "Herr General-direktor" is complimented because his wife is getting "prettier and prettier" (p. 82). In addition, we learn that Anna is not as pretty as Heidi, but more interesting. But when the two boys, Werner and Kurt, are compared, the authors ask "Who is stronger, Werner or Kurt?" (p. 82).

Generally, the male is depicted as strong, athletically fit, wise ("I know no wiser man." p. 83), and intelligent ("I don't know a more intelligent man." p. 83). The female, in contrast, is seen differently--her "feminine" charms are important. She is thin, blond, beautiful, or pretty ("Your daughter is getting prettier and prettier" p. 84). Occasionally she is boring ("Is that the girl whom you find so boring?" p. 209). And sometimes she loses her composure: "She was beside herself" (p. 90). She is also described as virtuous: "That's beneath her dignity" (p. 119). Although the male is given to a glass of wine from time to time ("The waiter placed a glass of wine in front of the old gentleman." p. 110), the woman contents herself with coffee ("The waiter is setting a cup of coffee in front of the lady" p. 112).

It is the female, not the male, who is the object of glances held too long: "He looked at her from head to foot" (p. 101). But, given the economic power structure of this text--she is either a secretary (p. 65), a cleaning lady (p. 160), or a homemaker (p. 149)--one might possibly expect the female to be flattered by such glances. For the men are secure in their careers, holding down a variety of esteemed positions: physician, employer, physicist, boss, general director, or even that of a good student.

More stereotyping is also reflected in the genders of the nouns: "friend," "barber," "doctor," "waiter," "student," "boss," and "teacher" appear most often, if not solely, in the masculine gender. It is also the male who takes the business trips (p. 115), works during the week (p. 131), and comes home from his office after work ("After work he goes directly home" p. 92). The woman's roles contrast markedly: she is usually observed in or around the home (p. 89), going to the doctor (a male physician, of course!) or doing the shopping (p. 210).

Because of this sex stereotyping, content often overshadows the grammatical items being analyzed. Students (usually females) sometimes redden or grin uncomfortably when asked to contend with some of the examples cited above. Therefore, I strongly propose that a thorough revision of this text be undertaken--as soon as possible. The money spent will be well spent. Here is a chance for the publisher to improve upon a pedagogically sound book, a book that, with some careful editing, can be greatly enhanced.

FOONOTES

1. Kimberly Sparks and Van Horn Vail, German in Review (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1967).
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3. Audrone C. Willeke and Ruth Sanders, "Walter ist intelligent und Brigitte ist blond: Dealing with Sex Bias in Language Texts," Die Unterrichtspraxis, 11, No. 2 (1978), 60-65.
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SEX ROLE STEREOTYPING IN ELEMENTARY SOCIAL
STUDIES METHODS BOOKS

Lowell Thompson

Until recently, the practice of stereotyping of women in elementary and secondary textbooks remained unquestioned by those in the field of education. In the last ten years, however, this phenomenon of sex stereotyping has been a well documented and significant part of the professional literature and research in education. Pullen and Reed, in their widely used high school text, Today's Problems, offer a concrete example of the kind of sex bias which researchers have begun to notice:

Women, in general, have aptitudes and qualities that make them more suited to certain types of work than men, such as secretarial work, nursing, and teaching young children . . . many think that the enlarged opportunity for women's work outside the home has had an undesirable effect on their interest in the home and on the home itself. . . . Should there be any difference in pay between men and women for the same kind and quality of work? Should married women whose husbands are able to work hold jobs that other girls and women would like?¹

Although perhaps less demeaning to women than the "unanswered" questions of Pullen and Reed, but equally sexist, is the bias found in the language of Gross and Devereaux (1971) in their Civics in Action:

Under our free enterprise system, any citizen can start any lawful business he wants to. He can seek work in any field that interests him. He can go into partnership with others. He can live in any part of the country. The government does not tell him how to run his life. It does not tell him what he can own or what he must do for a living.²

Sexism even creeps into "non-sexist" books. Hartley and Vincent's (1970) American Civics faces the question of sex bias fairly and gives very enlightened coverage to this issue, but at one point in their book are guilty of a bit of

sexism themselves by pointing out that, "The profession of nursing is a field in which young women are urgently needed." One wonders if the field (profession?) of nursing couldn't use a few talented young men also!

While the sex bias in textbooks appear clear and well documented, the view of school as a totally sexist institution is only now emerging. Holly (1979) reports that the "traditional bellwethers of educational sex bias" indicate that the schools are narrowing females' life choices. In a study conducted for the Project on Equal Education Rights (PEER), Holly found:

Women hold only one in 10 top school administrative jobs, including those of superintendent, assistant superintendent, principal, and assistant principal.

Only 11% of the students in traditionally male vocational programs of agriculture, technology, and trades and industry are girls.

Only one-third of high school athletes are girls.⁴

Less clear, in terms of the effect on schools as sexist institutions, are the methods books used in teacher preparation courses. Some of the literature indicates that "Approximately 150,000 future teachers graduating from teacher education programs each year are being prepared with textbooks more likely to promote and reinforce sex bias than to reduce or eliminate such prejudice."⁵

Typical of the type of methods textbook that may reinforce sex bias is Preston and Herman's social studies methods book. The authors of this book state that:

Knowledge of sex differences permits several generalizations that appear to give girls an academic edge over boys. Girls (1) are more desirous of adult approval than boys and try harder to please their teachers; (2) are therefore more conforming and suggestible and (3) consequently get higher marks on their report cards.

Despite these facts, and despite additional knowledge that girls outstrip boys in verbal fluency and reading ability, boys tend to be superior to girls in social studies achievement. Why should this be so? It is probably due to

boys' superiority in certain abilities that are manifestly important in social studies. One of these abilities is skill in performing spatial tasks, which involved perceiving and retaining shapes, directions, and spatial relationships. This ability underlies skill in map interpretation. Boys lead girls in performing spatial tasks from the early school years into adulthood.⁶

Although the preceding statement is based on evidence gathered by Hoffman and Maccoby,⁷ Preston and Herman (1968) give short-shift to the "nature-nurture" issue. They raise no questions about the appropriateness of the research.

Sadker and Sadker (1980), in one of the few if not the only study of sexism in teacher education texts, found that:

Only four of the 24 texts analyzed devoted more than 1% of their content to sexism.

Twenty of the 25 texts used generic pronouns or nouns such as he, man and mankind to refer to all people.

The mathematics methods books that were examined devoted 0% of their content to sexism.⁸

Because there is some evidence to suggest that books do influence the attitudes of their readers,⁹ and because one might logically expect teacher education textbooks, especially social studies methods texts, to influence prospective teachers by taking a strong stand against sex bias, a study was made of a sample of 9 most recent social studies methods books. Three were published in 1979:

Smith, James A. Creative Teaching of Social Studies in the Elementary School (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1979);

Joyce, William W., and Janet E. Allemans. Teaching Social Studies in the Elementary and Middle Schools (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1979); and

Skeel, Dorothy J. The Challenge of Teaching Social Studies in the Elementary School (Santa Monica: Goodyear Publishing Co., Inc., 1979).

Three were published in 1980:

Hennings, Dorothy G., George Hennings and Serafina F. Banich. Today's Elementary Social Studies (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1980);

Frankel, Jack R. Helping Students Think and Value: Strategies for Teaching Social Studies (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1980);

Michaelis, John V. Social Studies for Children in a Democracy: Recent Trends and Developments (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1980).

One text was published in 1981:

Welton, David A. and John T. Mallan. Children and Their World: Strategies for Teaching Social Studies (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1981).

The two social studies methods books by Jarolimek and Michaelis, examined by Sadker and Sadker, were also selected.¹⁰

The process for examining these nine textbooks roughly paralleled the process used by Sadker and Sadker.¹¹ The Sadker study included three categories (experience and contribution of females, sexism, and sex differences) while the present study examined only sexism, or more correctly, the content within the books intended to enlighten the reader regarding sex role stereotyping. The Sadker study also examined the narrative section of each book line by line while the present study focused initially on a line by line examination of the index and then examined those sections of the book likely to include coverage of sex role stereotyping.

While the process used for examining the nine books in the present study is somewhat different than the process used in the Sadker study, the results obtained in the present study are of the same general magnitude. Both studies found less than 1% of the content of Jarolimek's Social Studies in Elementary Education and Michaelis's Social Education for Children in Democracy devoted to the issue of sexism (.60% and .30% respectively in the Sadker study and .94 and .20 in the present study).

The results of the present study are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1. The Percent of Content Devoted to the Issue of Sexism in Nine Elementary Social Studies Methods Books

Title	Author	Date	Percent
Social Studies in Elementary Education	Jarolimek	1976	.94
Social Studies for Children in a Democracy	Michaelis	1976	.30
Teaching Social Studies in the Elementary and Middle Schools	Joyce	1979	1.54
The Challenge of Teaching Social Studies in the Elementary School	Skeel	1979	.34
Creative Teaching of Social Studies in the Elementary School	Smith	1979	.00
Helping Students Think and Value: Strategies for Teaching the Social Studies	Fraenkel	1980	.00
Today's Elementary Social Studies	Hennings	1980	.94
Social Studies for Children: A Basic Guide	Michaelis	1980	.33
Children and Their World	Welton	1981	.05

One would have hoped to find some improvement in the percent of content devoted to the issue of sexism in the elementary social studies methods books published in the last few years. But if the sample used in this study is representative, such is not the case. Two of the books published since 1976 contain no reference to sex bias and the other five contain only what could be referred to as minimum coverage.

It probably should be pointed out, in fairness if not in defense, that all of the books seemed to rely less on the use of generic pronouns and most continued at least a brief section on women's contributions to society.

Passages in several of the books, however, appear to continue to contribute to the problem. Fraenkel, in an appendix to a sample unit, provides a summary of Greek thought and includes the following passage: "Girls should be seen and heard as little as possible and should ask the fewest questions."¹²

Another criticism of methods books has been that they contain few "methods" for helping teachers facilitate instruction related to sex bias. Even when a book might include some more general or philosophic coverage of sex bias, few concrete teaching suggestions were included. Many of the books examined are still guilty of this charge. There are some notable exceptions however. Henning includes a general discussion of "stereotyped sex roles" and also includes eight specific suggestions to the teacher intended to reduce sexism in the elementary classroom. In addition, an "Idea Page" includes the following guide:

A GUIDE FOR STUDYING CURRICULAR MATERIALS

Directions: Study a set of curricular materials and the advertising brochures used in conjunction with them. Then answer the following questions:

1. Are both men and women/boys and girls given equal attention in the pictures? To answer this question, select fifteen pictures at random and count the number of each sex represented.
2. Are both males and females given equal attention in the story? To answer this question, select thirty pages of text and decide whether a male or female has the lead role.
3. Are both males and females depicted in pictures and texts performing a variety of professional and familial roles?
4. Are both males and females depicted in both active and passive pursuits?
5. Does sexism prevail in the language used?
6. Are members of various ethnic groups given attention in the pictures? Again select fifteen pictures and do a count.
7. Are members of various ethnic groups given attention in the story?
8. Are members of various ethnic groups depicted in pictures and words performing a variety of professional roles?
9. Are members of various ethnic groups depicted in leadership positions?
10. Are older citizens presented in stereotyped pursuits?
11. What is the reading level of the textual material? Generally the reading level of a social studies text series should be below the grade level at which it is to be used.
12. What kinds of enrichment activities are offered? Do these activities carry students to higher cognitive levels?

13. Are there any taped materials available for use with children who have visual problems?
14. Are handicapped people depicted in the material functioning within the mainstream?¹³

Another book that contains some excellent suggestions for classroom activities is Joyce's Teaching Social Studies in the Elementary and Middle Schools. In a six and one-half page section entitled "Human Equality," Joyce provides a complete plan for teaching a three week unit on "Challenging Sex Role Stereotypes." Included in the unit are student surveys, questionnaires, audio visual materials, field trips, use of resource people, discussion topics, and a bibliography of books for students and another for teachers.¹⁴

While the evidence is strong that schools continue to be "sexist institutions" and that teachers are poorly prepared to deal with sexism in the classroom and that teacher education methods books devote only minimal content to issues of sexism, there are in fact a few elementary social studies methods books that are beginning to provide some more enlightened content and it would perhaps not be inappropriate to conclude with Skeel's five steps for elimination of sex stereotyping:

1. Selecting textbooks and materials that depict males and females in traditional and nontraditional roles.
2. Providing career education that presents the full range of options available to males and females.
3. Studying the contributions of men and women equally, both in historical and contemporary times.
4. Providing role-playing situations where both sexes can explore all types of feelings and emotions.
5. Having children analyze advertising and TV programs for sex stereotyping.¹⁵

FOOTNOTES

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15. Skeel, op. cit.

Women's scholarship has many applications to professional courses and it also raises questions about "traditional" perspectives on so-called "women's fields" of study. Myrna Haga discusses these applications in her field of social work. Susan Diemart Moch, Mary Wakefield-Fisher and Sandra L. Warner look to the traditional women's field of nursing and suggest some interesting ways in which the new scholarship and perspectives on women can enhance the training of nurses and stimulate student nurses to develop new and creative directions in their profession. Barrie Wells examines some social and cultural prejudices which discourage women from seeking leadership roles in music education, and suggests some ways in which we can encourage talented women to enter this field.

WOMEN AND WELFARE REFORM

Myrna Haga

"There's no use trying," said [Alice]: "One can't believe impossible things."

"I dare say you haven't had much practice," said the Queen. "When I was your age, I always did it for half an hour a day. Why, sometimes I believed as many as six impossible things before breakfast."

Lewis Carroll, Through the Looking Glass

Medieval philosophy proposed that scientists could solve all human problems if only they could discover a special substance known as the "philosophers stone," which could extend human life indefinitely and transmute base metals into gold. Salamon (1978) suggests that welfare reform is modern America's equivalent of the philosopher's stone. "For many it is the solution that will alleviate at once the suffering of the poor, the fiscal pressures on state and localities, the confusion of the income tax system, the failings of the labor market, and the weakening of basic social institutions like the family.

While our present day alchemists are hard at work, millions of Americans live subject to programs that are often inequitable, sometimes dysfunctional and always complex. Emotion is also known to run high in this area which every presidential hopeful must eventually address. It has been suggested that "welfare has ironically emerged as one of the great unifying forces on American politics. Everyone is against it" (Salamon, 1978, p. 4). Although the aged and disabled may be the most important segment of the poor in terms of numbers, it is the female-headed household that is most important in terms of public attention and concern. Between 1965 and 1974, female-headed households with children increased ten times as fast as two-parent families in the United States. What makes this social revolution of great public concern is that one-half of all female-headed households are poor. In fact, more than half of all female-headed families are utilizing AFDC assistance. In addition, all

indications show little reason to anticipate a decline in the rate of female family headship in the foreseeable future. One estimate foresees the population eligible for AFDC growing from 3.8 million families in 1975 to 4.1-4.9 million families by the year 2000 (Mathematics Policy Research Group 1975, p. 11).

What then prevents policy researchers and analysts from moving towards reform of programs which are direly needed and in which growth is anticipated. Salamon (1978) proposes a number of factors impeding change. First, the income assistance programs are exceedingly complex. No coherent system exists and at last count no fewer than 62 federal programs existed. Since states run each program differently in terms of eligibility benefit levels and administrative procedures, several programs must be multiplied by 50 to obtain a true indication of the problem. Further complications exist due to the interrelatedness of the programs where a change in one could cause planned or unplanned changes in others. A second factor is the fear of many that change will reduce benefits already attained, despite the gaps, inequities, and inconsistencies. A third factor deals with the influence many believe that welfare has on the American work ethic. Increasing welfare to help the needy may interfere with the work system and values, thus undermining the economic order.

Despite these impediments to change, every administration must attempt to deal with the issue. During the past administration, no less than seven welfare reform strategies were proposed, including the Carter plan. To professionals concerned with rights in general and poor women in specific, the present system as well as proposed reforms needs to be understood and evaluated. Public assistance policy is a "tangle of trade-offs," a series of alternatives from which the least detrimental must be chosen. That the choices are often made based on other than hard empirical evidence is known by many, admitted by few. Legitimizing values as an element involved in choice allows examinations of what we value, why we value, and possible refutations of same.

Although numerous policy analysis schemes have been developed, key concepts are repeated in most. The question as it develops appears to be; which of these do we value most, why, and what are we willing to give up, i.e., what choices will be made and what trade-off will be proposed and accepted.

Basic to any discussion of policy are the core values of adequacy and equity. Salamon (1978) defines adequacy as the extent to which the system provides a level of benefit

sufficient to relieve the suffering of those in need, and does so without damage to personal pride and self-respect. Gilberg and Specht (1974) believe that a decent standard should be quite apart from concern for whether benefit allocations are equal or differentiated according to merit, while Ozawa (1978) reminds us that standards change over history.

What benefits are considered adequate is largely defined differently among programs. Social Security, while it has a federally determined minimum payment, allows a greater share of retirement earnings to the poorer wage earners. Presently, adequacy under Public Assistance is defined by each state which develops a needs standard for a family, the payment being the difference between the standard and the families income. Need standards therefore vary between states, an equity issue, and in most states actual benefit levels are below what they have themselves defined as need, thus institutionalizing inadequacy.

The adequacy debate is further muddled by the lack of agreement of a definition of adequacy and whether absolute or relative standards should be used. The definition of widest acceptance is the absolute level computed as three times the FSDA's economy diet. The relative level, by convention, is 50% of the median income. The problem is further compounded by use of income statistics which fail to take into account many government programs, and utilize different time periods, sampling frames, and populations.

The Social Security Administration poverty threshold has recently gained widespread support as to what minimally adequate benefits should be. Using it as a standard in reform has problems however. Most benefits would rise significantly, thus probably requiring state supplementation. Even if resources did exist, concern would evolve around the effect it might have on work effort and the private labor market in some states. The wealthier states are concerned over this as well, as benefits could drop, thus it would probably encounter real opposition from recipients within those states.

As well as being studied in relation to minimum income, Ozawa (1978) makes the point that unless adequacy is assessed in the dynamic mode, an adequate minimum for today will become inadequate in the future. Suggestion is made that this could be taken care of by defining the minimum income as a percentage of the median family income. In reality, of the current income programs, only SSI explicitly provides for a national minimum income. AFDC does not pretend to implement this principle and Gilbert and Specht (1974) suggest that it is honored more in violation than execution.

The incremental pursuit of adequacy has done little to improve the issue dealing with the basic fairness of the system-equity. The two interrelated issues dealing with the disparity that the system leaves between different segments of the poor--horizontal inequity, and the advantages that often accrue to the poor through the system as compared with the non-poor--vertical inequity. Since the system's categorical need tested programs makes aid available only to defined segments of the poor population, many of the poor are excluded. In addition, since states are mandated to define their own standards of need and eligibility, place of residence can be a decisive factor in whether aid will be forthcoming, and in what amount.

The differential between the eligible poor, the non-eligible poor and the near poor is further exacerbated by in-kind programs, where entrance is often based on eligibility for cash assistance programs. Recent changes have increased concern that welfare benefits have left welfare recipients better off than the working poor, thus violating a long-standing principle of relief policy in both Britain and the United States: the principle of less eligibility. It is possible that an AFDC recipient, without working, could be receiving more than the working woman when food stamps and Medicare are involved. With the addition of work, work incentives could make it even more lucrative. What this demonstrates is the trade-off that exists between benefit adequacy and equity, between improving the adequacy for current recipient and improving the degree of equity between program recipients and low wage workers not on welfare. This provides another argument to counterpressure for improved benefits.

Glazer's (1975) answer to the dilemma is to leave welfare where it is, and try to make work--the kind of work that people on welfare, or the father of children on welfare, might take--more attractive.

The issue remains explosive for the debate on welfare reform. Viewed as a whole, the changes in the last decade seem to have reduced the inequities between those who get nothing and those who get something, while increasing the disparity between those who get something and those who get much more (Glazer, 1974).

A most important choice deals with the decision of who will benefit by policy, and basic to this is the distinction between the two approaches to social services or benefits that are offered by a government to its citizens, Universal or Selective.

The general movement appears to be towards the universal approach with such as police and fire protection, libraries, and recreational facilities. Under this approach, there is no formal distinction made between the individual poor and non-poor. The U.S. established early some universal provisions, the principle one being free public and secondary education for all children. With the passage of the Social Security Act of 1935, universalism received further impetus, rejecting in its social insurance titles, 300 years of poor law history.

The selective approach incorporates all schemes that take into account the individual's financial circumstances through some test of income or resources. The individual must demonstrate that she is currently without adequate resources to support the individual and family, or to pay the fees and assessments for various services.

Hoshino (1970) describes the selective approach as highly adaptive in theory if not always in practice. The concern is with an individual's current situation, not whether there is membership in a particular group, or whether there is a contribution record. Benefits paid need not be based on any national average, but can meet any need arising from any cause. Critics see the approach as inherently undemocratic in that it divides our population into classes--the poor and non-poor. A second concern is the possibility that it is a work disincentive in that the more one earns, the less benefits one can receive. Hoshino (1970) fears that once a program becomes selective, for the poor only, it invites a tendency toward the laying on of hands. Unwittingly or deliberately behavioral conditions and pressures, subtle or not, are brought to bear on relief recipients. Those favoring the selective approach see the mechanism as saving money and increasing egalitarianism since it provides goods or services only to those who are in need.

Universalism, on the other hand, is an approach in which benefits are distributed without reference to individual income or means. Eligibility is established on the basis of belonging to a specified group, by the onset of a specified condition, or circumstance that is assumed "on the average" to warrant distribution of benefits, with or without prior contributions by or on behalf of the individual (Hoshino, 1976). Supporters of universal programs believe that they allow the client to preserve her dignity, not classing her as a have-not. Clientele need not subject themselves to a "mean test" to prove their poverty or inability for self-support. Negatively, benefits cannot usually, due to expense, be as high as could be expected under selective

programs. Benefits, be they universal or selective, can be distributed to those eligible either in cash or in-kind. During the 1960s, in-kind benefits grew rapidly, providing increases for clients when cash increases were not politically possible. To many, in-kind benefits assured that client resources would be used in the manner in which they were intended. Although the use of in-kind transfers has increased, not all believe that it is ideal. This form of transfer has been criticized for a number of reasons (Salomon, 1978). The first attack is based on the manner in which in-kind benefits distort the purchasing power of the poor. Cash allows the recipient to define for herself which needs are most acute and apply key resources to their alleviation. Justification considers in-kind as a way to keep the poor from squandering the resources on non-essentials. (New Jersey Income Maintenance Experiment does not support this contention.) The second major concern is that in-kind programs have added to the baffling notches, overlaps and high benefit reduction rates that make public assistance so cumbersome and counterproductive.

Supporters of in-kind programs believe that only through this mechanism can certain goods needed by the poor be provided. That is, the market would be inhibited from responding by artificial rigidities even if additional resources were available. As important, is what the public will countenance in regards to welfare programs. Although cash grants would be administratively cheaper, in-kind programs generate more support and allow higher benefit levels. In-kind may, in fact, be the price necessary in order for benefits to approach adequacy.

Cash or in-kind benefits within the public assistance program in the U.S. was designed to avoid any disincentive to work by those receiving benefits. Early programs provided coverage only to those not expected to work, thus a marginal tax rate of 100% was logical. Mothers of children were expected to remain in the home, and the AFDC recipient was envisioned as an upright worthy widow administering to her children after the death of her spouse. Eventually this depiction was replaced by one much less acceptable to those who would finance the program. The devoted widow was replaced by a woman who had never married or whose husband had deserted. No longer did it seem appropriate that public funds should support and/or encourage such decay of the family, such individuals should work. In addition, modern women have voluntarily entered the labor force adding impetus to the idea that the working mother is an appropriate model for all, including and especially, the welfare mother.

The problem became the proper mix between work and welfare. It appears only fair that those who work should obtain more than those who do not, that there should be some incentive for employment and disincentives reduced. One feature which appears to actively discourage work is the notch problem. That is, a point in the public assistance benefit scale where an additional dollar of earnings makes the recipient ineligible for other public programs. Two of the most severe are Medicaid and AFDC-U. The rationale for the inclusion of these includes their ability to limit cost by limiting coverage. They can avoid the extension of benefits to certain persons above poverty levels. Within certain costs constraints they also allow full benefits to be provided to everyone on welfare. The negative impact is that they promote a response to the system which is directly counter to its objective (Garfinkel, 1978). The equity of providing extensive benefits to some and none to others with essentially the same income should also be considered.

Most analysts conclude that work incentives do have an affect on work behavior in the direction hypothesized. The force of these effects however is not very great for working age males; while somewhat stronger for married women, female family heads and older men (Salamon, 1978). Heffernan (1972) suggests that secondary workers in experimental families in an urban experiment were slightly more likely to reduce their labor when tentative income support is available, but the decline in family hours worked is slight. There is absolutely no evidence of massive withdrawal from the work force or decline in family income as a result of the income guarantee program.

In 1967, in an AFDC work incentive study in Michigan, a positive relationship between improved work incentives and increased work by AFDC recipients was shown. The size of the increase was so small as to suggest that the factors which constrained employment prior to the implementation continued to do so afterwards. Primary among those was the demographic characteristics of the AFDC population and the limited job opportunities available in the labor market (Smith, 1974). This is in accord with finding by Au Claire (1979) that the degree of success which is possible in encouraging self support and eventual economic independence among welfare recipients is contingent on the structuring of the labor market. This factor is beyond control of recipients, local administration, or welfare policy defined in the narrow sense. Recipients tend to be confined to the secondary job sector which could defeat "employment solutions" to welfare problems.

The mood of the country strongly suggests however that despite the evidence and problems, a reform bill without a work requirement would just not be acceptable to the American people.

Besides disincentive to work, any new system should minimize any possible incentives for family break-up. Because federal cash assistance is unavailable in many states, in low income households headed by a full-time employed male, it may be financially advantageous for the family if the male leaves. At the very least, the financial effect of his departure can be minimized. Turem and Arnow (1977) compiled a study of selected low income neighborhoods in San Francisco. It was found that under the present welfare policies up to 99% of families of four could be better off financially by splitting. Under the assistance program that covers an intact family, only 32% of the low income families would have such an incentive.

Whether or not such incentives will have an effect on behavior is a different question. One of the problems is that the behavior in question is a series of action involving decisions to have a child, separate, establish a separate household, remarry and so on (Salamon, 1978). Some evidence shows that the extent to which this incentive has an effect, it is to reduce pressure to remarry rather than to cause separation in the first place (Ross & Sawhill, 1975). One study showed that the lack of economic opportunities for males, and the presence of jobs or decent wages for women, are two or three times more potent than welfare benefits in accounting for high proportions of families headed by females (Honig, 1973).

It is doubtful therefore that much of the growth in female heads of households can be attributed to the family stability incentive. This is not to say this incentive ought not to be eliminated on grounds of equity.

To those who must rely on a system with the many problems described, one issue remains of prime concern--stigma. The extent of stigma is judged by the degree to which the application or receipt of aid from the program results in humiliation or loss of self respect on the part of the beneficiary. In our society, programs that aid the poorer members have often been administered in such a way as to humiliate program beneficiaries. The poor law heritage encouraged officials to discourage potential beneficiaries from applying for benefits by making the receipt of such benefits a humiliating experience (Garfinkel, 1978).

Some argue that income testing per se is not the issue, but rather how it is performed. Ozawa (1978) suggests that income testing involving the poor through face-to-face, case-by-case investigation may be stigmatizing, but income testing submerged within income tax returns will not. Adequacy and attitude were found by Stuart (1975) to be factors, in that the less adequately public assistance recipients feel the service met their needs, and the more they perceived the workers as favoring certain applicants, the more stigmatized they felt as recipients. Findings further indicated that recipient attitudes were influenced by the degree of dependency associated with a provision of the benefit. Since public assistance benefits are extended to provide for total income requirements and are regarded as less than adequate, great stigma is attached to this receipt than to receipt of other services. Conversely, in-kind benefits are regarded as more adequate when used as supplements to meet consumption needs, and recipients feel less stigmatized.

General assistance recipients in general felt significantly more stigmatized in applying for benefits and considered themselves less adequate than did recipients of three different in-kind benefits (Stuart, 1975). Data indicates that this stigma is considerable for male headed families, who should be working poor be covered, will have to apply under some conditions for emergency legal entitlement. This find points to the possibility of the low take-up in such a plan.

Garfinkel (1978) suggests that even if income programs are administered in the most benign way possible, beneficiaries still must declare themselves "poor" in order to receive aid. In our country where so much stress is put on economic success and where the dominant ideology is that "with hard work anyone can make it," to admit to being poor is almost synonymous with an admission of failure. And as long as income tests are retained in our transfer programs, it is possible to return to the harsh practices of the past. Previous eras of relative benevolence have been followed by more stringent ones.

It is therefore imperative that human service professionals become knowledgeable of the criteria needed for the evaluation of welfare reform proposals. We can no longer lament poor legislation; we must instead become active participants in that legislative process which so critically affects women involved with the "welfare system." What has been suggested herein, while not complete, provides the basic criteria for evaluation, once the optimum objectives have been determined, then the process will and must allow

for trade-offs, or compromise. And a process of knowledgeable, analytical negotiation can and should lead to enlightened legislation which will reflect the best thinking of the best people available--trained and informed human service professionals.

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SELF-ENHANCING STRATEGIES FOR NURSING EDUCATION

Susan Diemert Moch

"It's hard to be assertive when you're a nursing student. Everyone treats you like you don't know anything. I know staff on the units at the hospital just hate to see us come."¹ These are the words of a junior nursing student in a seminar on assertiveness in Community Mental Health Nursing. The students further discussed the difficulty of their situation as students but were confident that when they became real nurses they would be able to be assertive. Nursing students frequently expect that functioning as a graduate in nursing will bring about many changes, including a better feeling about themselves. Students in nursing expect to be assertive because they surmise they will feel better about themselves.

Even though students in nursing do think that making the transition from student to practitioner will provide confidence and result in assertive behavior, research has proven otherwise.² Nursing graduates have demonstrated an inability to translate the assertive leadership role of a self-confident professional into the work situation. Ellis and Kramer speculate that the lack of any follow through in leadership roles is related to the lack of self-confidence of the nursing graduate.³

The disparity between presumed ability of students to be assertive and to feel good about themselves when they graduate despite the lack of self-confidence or self-esteem at the student level is a stimulus for this article. The assumption is made that if nursing students actually practiced assertiveness and other self-enhancing behaviors within the course of their nursing education, the result would be a more self-confident graduate nurse. Proposals are made to encourage assertiveness and other self-enhancing behavior so that the actions of students are reinforced by faculty in a supportive educational atmosphere before the challenges of the real world begin.

The proposals that serve to increase the self-confidence of nursing students are called self-enhancing strategies. Seven specific self-enhancing strategies are discussed in relation to nursing education. The proposed self-enhancing strategies are related more to the experience or process of

nursing education rather than to the specific curriculum content. Nursing curriculums already include many changes related to curriculum content that could be considered self-enhancing. The women's movement has provided much impetus to the curriculum content additions. Assertiveness techniques, values clarification, historical development of the women's movement, self-awareness, and nurse-physician communication are a few of the additions to the nursing curriculum in recent years. The content changes have made some impact; however, a clear need to focus on process changes related to faculty-nursing student interaction has become apparent. The self-enhancing strategies proposed here for nursing are, then, related to the process of faculty-nursing student interactions. The self-enhancing strategies or suggestions for improving self-confidence of nursing students are focused on developing nursing faculty actions in relating to students.

According to Randolph and Howe, self-enhancing education is especially beneficial for helping faculty relate to students to improve self-confidence.⁴ The self-enhancing processes developed after years of research with kindergarten through eighth grade students includes three processes that are especially applicable to nursing education. They are: (1) problem-solving in which teacher and student mutually participate, (2) self-management in which the teacher encourages the student to exercise control over self, and (3) self-evaluation in which the student participates to a great extent in any evaluation done.⁵ These processes as proposed for education will be discussed later with specific nursing examples.

The lack of self-confidence in nursing has been documented in relation to reality shock or the socialization process from the role of student to graduate.⁶ Reality shock is the discovery and the reaction to the discovery that school values and work values conflict.⁷ Much recent attention has been given to reality shock because authors have proposed the idea that reality shock is the reason for the attrition rate in the nursing profession. Since the attrition rate is a real concern to the nursing profession, techniques have been prescribed to alleviate reality shock. Some of these techniques are providing a senior practicum for students, in which they practice in a work situation similar to one in which they will work upon graduation and providing opportunities to discuss and assimilate the reality shock phenomenon. These techniques also provide some self-enhancing function.

Cohen, in discussing reality shock or the

socialization process, challenges the nursing profession to analyze the authoritarian system in nursing education and to foster student movement from the unilateral dependency stage to the negative-independence stage in the socialization process.⁸ The negative-independence stage, however, involves encouraging students to argue with instructors and to question the status quo which creates difficulty in an educational process supposedly wrought with authoritarianism. The tendency towards authoritarianism in nursing education is a carryover from the beginning of nursing. Nursing history as a women's profession beginning in war time and continuing through church service provides impetus to an authoritarian structure. Even though attempts are made by nurse educators to discontinue the past authoritarian idealism, hints of the past remain. An attitude of "do as I say because it is the right way," remains in nursing education today. Students are to some extent encouraged to be dependent in relating to faculty.

Recommendations by Till include encouraging faculty to become role models who have successfully merged traditional feminine roles with the role demands of a professional.⁹ The lack of self-confidence of nursing students may be due, in part, to the lack of role models who appear self-confident in their present situation and confident about future goals and aspirations. The rationale for the lack of role models may be an inability of faculty to successfully merge traditional feminine roles with professional roles. Since most nursing faculty are women, they too struggle with pressure from society and self to be feminine and yet professional. A constant pressure exists to assume a collegial relationship with physicians and yet many nursing faculty attended schools in the past where students were encouraged to stand when physicians entered the room, to carry physician charts and to follow physicians' orders without questions. Even the continuation of the words, "physician's orders" in the health care system connotes other than collegial relationships. Nursing faculty that do role model an ability to be feminine to the degree acceptable by nursing students and yet self-confident in the professional role promote self-confidence through role modeling.

A number of authors have challenged nursing professionals to resolve the problem of seemingly low self-confidence of nursing students and nursing graduates. Among these are Schmalenberg and Kramer in their essay, "Dreams and Reality: Where Do They Meet?"; Lois Ellis, who investigated self-concepts of nursing students; Nancy Greenleaf, who reported in an article entitled "The Politics of Self-Esteem;" Meleis and Farrell, who conducted an in-depth study

of senior students in three nursing programs; and Kjervik and Bush, who discussed the self-images of nurses.¹⁰ The problem of low self-confidence is frequently related to the fact that nursing is a woman-dominated profession. Therefore, suggestions for change are often related to the trends and actions of the women's movement in general. Specific recommendations for alleviating the problem of low self-confidence in nursing are rare. Employers are often encouraged to address the problem of the lack of self-confidence. Certainly employers can be helpful, yet many self-enhancing strategies can begin while the student is preparing for a professional nursing career. The strategies proposed are for facilitating an increase in the self-confidence of nursing students during the time they are in their professional preparation. Nursing faculty practicing self-enhancing strategies have a definite role in increasing the self-confidence levels of the future practicing professionals.

Drawing from suggestions of authors mentioned, as well as experience in nursing education, seven self-enhancing strategies for nursing education are proposed. In conjunction with each strategy, specific examples are included for application in nursing education.

1. Encouraging mutual problem solving. Many opportunities exist for mature problem solving in nursing education. One example would be when a student is dissatisfied with clinical experience because of lack of challenge or because the experience is too overwhelming. Faculty frequently listen to the complaint and either disregard the information or adjust the situation. Faculty could jointly discuss the problem with students and encourage the student to demonstrate knowledge of the clinical and to contract for other experiences as needed or requested.

2. Promoting student self-management. A review of any nursing course syllabus provides information about this lack of self-management in the courses. Every aspect of the course, including minute objectives, all evaluation methods and clinical experiences are prescribed in great detail. Rarely are choices given in any situation. Students could be given opportunities for writing some of their own objectives, creating some evaluative criteria, or developing clinical experiences. Nursing students rarely have the opportunity to even select course electives as the curriculum is so prescribed.

3. Providing for student self-evaluation. Attempts at having nursing students evaluate themselves have been

made to some extent. Students have been encouraged to evaluate themselves in their clinical performance. However, traditionally the student evaluation carries little or no weight. Since students must gain a satisfactory grade in clinical in order to pass the course, students are very concerned about faculty clinical evaluations. Students fear that faculty can easily evaluate them in a poor light which will affect their continuation in nursing. Providing more opportunities for self-evaluation that is related to a grade could increase the significance of self in the evaluation process.

4. Promoting nursing faculty role modeling. Nursing faculty who role model an ability to balance a professional career and the role of women, provide security for the nursing student that the students own goal can be met. Nursing students that see faculty assuming assertive leadership roles in education or on the health care team are encouraged. Faculty may role model collegial relationships in the health care system through clinical experiences with students. Strong role-modeling may also be accomplished through joint appointments in which faculty assume a part-time role in the health care system as a provider while also working with students in the educational system.

5. Analyzing the possibility of an authoritarian structure. A planned evaluation including an authoritarian analysis is necessary. Nursing faculty could reconsider each time a student request is given a negative response. For instance, students could request alternative clinical experience because the one provided doesn't meet the learning needs established by the student. More frequently, however, students don't even request changes because of the authoritarian manner in which clinical experiences are presented. A tool measuring the amount of authoritarianism and dependency promotion felt by students could be administered yearly. An analysis of the amount of creative expression by students and faculty could also be made on a regular basis.

6. Team teaching with disciplines other than nursing. If faculty in nursing do tend to continue the authoritarianism system which fosters dependency, teaching with faculty that may not tend to perpetuate the authoritarian theme could be helpful. Nursing faculty are often guided by the premise that students must never make mistakes, as mistakes can mean a life loss. Faculty caught up by the life loss threat can be programmed to think every student action that is in any way deviant from the faculty expectation is a life threatening experience. Educators from departments other than nursing or the health field are especially useful in a team

situation to balance the possible authoritarian attitude. Medicine, psychology, and social work faculty as team members are helpful in role-modeling a collegial relationship. Nutrition faculty could be especially helpful as team faculty in Community, Medical-Surgical, and Maternal Child Nursing. Team faculty with a perspective other than nursing can provide the checks and balances needed to assist nursing faculty in self-enhancing education for nursing students.

7. Striving for faculty self-awareness. The urgent need for faculty to become role models necessitates a constant reassessment of self. The role of enhancing self-confidence requires a healthy self-confidence for the enhancer. A continued look at self is a self-enhancing strategy in itself. Hamacheck recommends the following:

If, as parents or as professional persons, we have a basic understanding of how a healthy self is developed and the conditions and interpersonal relations which nurture them then we are in a position to move actively in the direction of creating those conditions and interpersonal relationships most conducive to positive mental health. Perhaps the best way to start is with ourselves.¹¹

Nursing faculty frequently expect the nearly impossible from students in terms of time commitment. Students are expected to spend many hours in clinical and lab and then an inordinate amount of time writing up lengthy assignments of questionable merit. Faculty self analysis regarding their expectations could provide an impetus for change.

Nursing faculty can assess their own self-enhancing strategies. Questioning themselves on what strategies they use to gain self-confidence in the role in nursing education would be helpful. Analysis of whether a sense of accomplishment is gained through activities in which the educator pursues or whether the activities serve as a means to decrease one's own self-confidence is important.

Nursing faculty are in an excellent position to make a positive move towards promoting the self-confidence of nursing students. Through incorporating the self-enhancing strategies proposed in their interaction with nursing students, nursing faculty could affect the future of nursing. Nursing graduates who are encouraged to develop self-confidence while in the school situation may continue the development of self-confidence as graduates. The self-confident graduate, equipped with skills practiced through the interaction of student with faculty would assert

themselves with colleagues on the health team to effect necessary changes in health care.

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THE ROLE OF THE PROFESSIONAL NURSE:
CONFLICTING PERSPECTIVES

Mary Wakefield-Fisher

The expansion of nursing as an understood, fully-utilized profession has historically been hampered by discord surrounding the definition of the role of the nurse. What constitutes the role of a nurse is viewed differently by society, other health professionals, and even among nurses themselves. Confusion related to the nurse's role dates back to Florence Nightingale, who, in the mid to late 1800s, was instrumental in significantly altering the role of nurses.

Nightingale functioned as a catalyst in redefining the education necessary for a nurse and the responsibilities to the nurse's practice. According to Dolan, "Nightingale insisted that prepared and educated persons were necessary to function properly in the nurse's role."¹ Furthermore, Dolan states that Nightingale saw a nurse's role and functions as being distinctly different from the physician's role and functions. Yet, even with Nightingale's guidance, the role of the nurse was still not clearly delineated nor perceived.

Attempts to clarify the nurse's role in health care continued into the early 1900s. Lavinia Dock, a nurse, feminist, and social reformer, identified nurse stereotypes when she stated, "our conception of a true nurse is not that of a saint . . . or that of a semi-doctor, nor of a charity worker."² Unfortunately, the notions Dock attempted to extinguish are as commonplace today as they were at the time of her writing in 1920.

Currently, society is exposed to the majority of nurses practicing in bureaucratic settings in which the role of the professional nurse is difficult to identify. In hospitals and other health care facilities, patients and their families are quickly confused by the various "levels" of nursing personnel and their associated responsibilities. To shift through a composite of nurse aides, nurse technicians, orderlies, licensed practical nurses, two, three, and four year registered nurses, and graduate prepared nurse clinicians is a formidable task for a healthy, fully alert

individual. Furthermore, distinguishing characteristics of each role are not readily apparent when an aide and a registered nurse both bathe patients, or when a licensed practical nurse and a registered nurse both pass medications. Davis addresses the problem of role overlap when he states:

. . . It is a paradox that, in popular parlance, the same, unmodified nouns 'nurse' and 'nursing' should be applied so indiscriminately to a wide variety of health care activities, carried on in different settings. . . . and to an occupation that includes some of the least educated members of society (such as aides and orderlies) and some of the most educated (such as persons with advance degrees. . .).³

The indiscriminate blend of multiple roles all referred to as "nurse" heightens the problem of distinguishing the role of the professional, baccalaureate or higher degree prepared nurse from all other "nursing" personnel.

The professional nurse's role becomes even cloudier as a result of stereotyped portrayals of nurses in televised media. The nurse's role is frequently interpreted inaccurately in dramatized situations, thus hampering efforts which nursing makes to acquaint the public with the nursing profession's view of a professional nurse's role. Televised examples of nurse stereotypes are readily identifiable. The 1980-81 series, "Nurse," while possessing a flavor of occasional "true-to-life" power struggles between physicians and hospital nurses, unfortunately depicts sprinklings of nurse sainthood as well as nurses who interact with patients in a verbally abusive manner--behavior which would have barred most nursing students from ever graduating from school, let alone practice nursing.

In another current television series, "M.A.S.H.," the head nurse, while sporadically depicted as an intelligent caregiver, is nevertheless generally characterized as a quick-tempered, hysterical woman involved in an undercover relationship with a married doctor. Throughout television history, there has been little media focus on the nurse as a skillful, knowledgeable professional, an image which could serve to enhance public understanding of the nurse's role. Contrary to the often televised image of the nurse in white working at the bedside of a critically ill patient, nursing is also an integral part of the health care patients and families receive at wellness clinics, nursing homes, through hospices, in schools, and in various other settings. The setting and practice of nursing is vast and complex,

extending from the occupational health nurse in a factory to the flight nurse in a trauma center. The public's often incorrect and narrow view of the nurse's role and the factors contributing to that view are addressed by Aroskar:

Cracks and conflicts exist in the public image of the nurse and . . . the traditional 'handmaid of the physician' image still exists as a public image of the nurse.⁴

Aroskar further states:

. . . the media, . . . and lack of public knowledge about the activities involved in professional nursing practice contribute to the traditional image of the nurse as a female lacking in initiative and intelligence who is obedient to the authority of the physician.⁵

While this author agrees with Aroskar's statements addressing poor public image, it can also be argued that the nurse's role, being servile to the physician, is, unfortunately, a public image shared by some physicians. While nursing continues to suffer from a poor public understanding of the role of the nurse, nursing also receives ill-favored regard from medicine. According to Corea:

The nursing role is controlled and manipulated by physicians. Doctors controlled nursing effortlessly because it was a largely female occupation. The women had been programmed from childhood to esteem themselves lowly, to assert themselves rarely, to fear power, to shun leadership, to slight their careers. Their minds had been thoroughly conditioned for domination.⁶

Finally, the perception of a nurse's role varies even among nurses. Henderson and Nite, both nurses, define the role of the nurse in the following statement:

The unique function of the nurse is to assist the individual (sick or well) in the performance of those activities contributing to health or its recovery (or to peaceful death) that he would perform unaided if he had the necessary strength, will, or knowledge.⁷

Another view of nursing is espoused by two well known nurses, Fuerst and Wolff, who define nursing as:

. . . an art in the ministering of health services . . . based on scientific principles . . . rendered by persons who have a sincere concern for the welfare and well-being of others.⁸

Finally, Mitchell, a nurse educator, perceives the role of a nurse as:

. . . an interdependent role with physicians in the therapy of disability or illness, but . . . a primary role in helping the person live with or avoid further disability, and in promoting well-ness--living to one's fullest capacities.⁹

While there is some overlap among the three definitions of the nurse's role that nurses "assist," "render," or "help people," there are also characteristics singular to each definition, again indicating varied perceptions regarding the role of the nurse.

Role, related to any occupation, facilitates the achievement of purposes and objectives. Role assists the person to accomplish specific tasks for which the role was designed. The individual undertaking the role has accompanying responsibilities along with automatic expectations exhibited by other persons, in this case patients, physicians, society in general, who interpret the meaning of a nurse's role according to their perception of that role. Banton views roles as being influenced through the following mechanisms:

. . . actual behavior can be related to the individual's own ideas of what is appropriate (role cognitions), or to other people's ideas about what he will do (expectations), or to other people's ideas about what he should do (norms),¹⁰

Because numerous interpretations and discrepancies exist regarding the composition of the nurse's role from within and outside of the profession, role expectations become inconsistent and frequently invalid. Moreover, due to inconsistent role expectations, role performance becomes impaired with damage to the nurse's autonomy and limited use of the extensive nursing knowledge the professional nurse possesses. To be truly effective, the person undertaking the role of a nurse and people interdigitating with that role must have a clear understanding of what nursing really encompasses. The nurse's role should be well established and identifiable to people within and outside of nursing. As a dominated, misunderstood group of primarily women, nurses have frequently

been exposed to frustration and anxiety resulting from the internal arguing, passivity, and blatant misunderstanding related to the acquisition of nebulous role.

Many problems facing the nursing profession emanate, according to Davis, from the fact that "... nursing is not just a feminine profession, but the most feminine of all." Yet, while nursing is still primarily a woman's profession with struggles typical of women in the twentieth century, nursing also has the accompanying strengths of women and the women's movement in the 1980s. Further clarification of the nurse's role in health care should be a priority for nursing as a collective. Upon developing a clearly defined role, efforts by the nursing profession should shift toward re-educating the public and nursing's health care colleagues using available media and the actual performance of that clearly defined nursing role. The goal of furthering an understanding of the nurse is an effort which would significantly benefit both the nursing profession and women.

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TOWARD EQUITY IN NURSING:
THE ROLE OF EDUCATORS

Sandra L. Warner

Most people agree that educators have the opportunity to influence students' thinking. But the mere presentation of information does not necessarily result in changes in thinking, then doing. The information teachers present must have relevance for its recipients. Thus, one of the greatest problems in teaching nursing stems from a failure of the teachers and students to recognize the influence of social and institutional constraints in which the profession operates.¹

Wolf states that nursing, a predominately female occupation, is one of the most highly exploited, least rewarded, and least appreciated professions.² According to Yeaworth, the fundamental problems in nursing are that: (1) it is a woman's occupation, and (2) the majority of nurses do not see feminism as an issue. She summarizes the factors which limit nursing as a profession: the traditional socialization process of women; the image of the nurse as nurturing, feminine, and self-sacrificing; the attitude that nursing is a job rather than a career; the lack of recognition for the many independent, decision-making functions nurses perform; nursing education programs which are not in degree-granting, accredited colleges and universities; the lack of sufficient research and theory-building skills among nurses; and nursing's lack of representation in administrative, decision-making positions.³

Schuval notes that all societies feature occupations which are specifically sex-linked, i.e., members of only one sex are considered likely recruits and practitioners of those occupational roles.⁴ Oppenheimer summarizes the characteristics of female jobs as those which depend upon large quantities of skilled, but inexpensive labor and which require training before employment.⁵ Women were thought to prefer work which represented an extension of their domestic roles and which involved helping, nurturing, and socializing activities. Almquist offers the following explanation for sex-linkage in jobs: (1) the tendency for men and women to seek different jobs, and (2) employers' tendency to sex-label jobs and advertise, recruit, hire, and promote males and females accordingly.⁶

The inequities inherent in nursing relate not only to the overall inequities experienced by women in our society, but also to nursing's historical foundation. The roots of European nursing lie in monasticism, with nuns caring for the sick and dying while exemplifying selfless devotion. Florence Nightingale combined the trappings of the church with military discipline and laid the cultural foundations for uniforms, institutional life, strict hierarchies, and a non-concern for worldly rewards.⁷ "The phrase, 'Born in the church, bred in the Army' summarized nursing's beginnings" and still influences the public's image of nursing today.⁸

The traditional socialization process of women as well as the public image of the nurse as nurturing, feminine, and self-sacrificing contribute to attitudes, rationales, and decisions which keep nursing from attaining full professional status. Hughes states that public opinion is a powerful force influencing consumers' utilization of nursing care.⁹ Nursing educators can help change public opinion by emphasizing the ability of the nurse and abolishing the subservient, self-sacrificing doctor's help-mate theme.

Both nursing as a profession and the public as consumers are disadvantaged by the public's inability to see nursing care as distinct from physician care. Nursing is a discipline with its own knowledge base and nursing offers a unique service. Nursing education is distinct and different from medical education in that the nursing model is health-oriented and focuses on prevention of illness while the medical model is disease-oriented and focuses on curing illness.¹⁰

However, the history of hospital-related nursing is closely linked to physicians. Before 1900, there were few relationships between doctors and nurses in the hospitals, since physician care was office-based and nursing care was home-bound, private duty, and physician-directed. When medical practice moved into hospitals at the turn of the century, physicians dominated both patient care and nursing education. The doctor/nurse relationship was established at a time when women could neither vote nor own property if married.¹¹ The subservient role of the nurse was the expectation for the times.

The doctor/nurse relationship is still evolving, and nurses have not yet achieved the collegial status they deserve as highly valued, critically needed members of the health care team. Psychiatrist L. Stein states that until nurses stop playing the doctor/nurse game, they contribute

to their own oppression and inhibit their professional autonomy.¹² The rules of the doctor/nurse game include a restrictive communication pattern in which nurses make recommendations without appearing to do so and the physician acts upon the recommendation, also without appearing to ask for it.

The political and economic evolution of hospital nursing is closely linked with the exploitation by the American Medical Association and the American Hospital Association, both male-dominated groups which found it advantageous to keep nursing subservient by staffing hospitals in apprentice-like, low-paying jobs. Physician-taught, hospital-based nursing education programs perpetuated this exploitation. The traditions of hospital nursing have molded nurses to feel loyalty to physicians, hospital administrators, and nursing services, but not always to the patient. Lulu Hassemplug, in her address to the 1980 ANA Convention, stated that, "Nursing in the 1980s will require well-educated nurses who have been socialized to serve their patients rather than the needs of physicians or institutions."¹³ It is difficult to expect the nurses of today to be advocates for patients when they have yet to learn to be advocates for themselves and for nursing.

In order to better understand the status of nursing today, reasons for the current nursing shortage should be explored. Zimmerman explained the shortage by the decrease in the number of students choosing nursing as a career and an increase in the number of nurses leaving the profession.¹⁴

One reason that fewer students choose nursing is because the total size of the graduation pool is less due to a decrease in population; however, the lack of competitive attributes which nursing offers to students must also be considered as a possible explanation. Godfrey suggests the following help-wanted ad for nurses:

Highly skilled professional. Salary not commensurate with responsibility. Long hours of back-breaking work, often on weekends and holidays. Indifferent management. Golden opportunity for dedicated person who wants to work with and help people.¹⁵

Wry as it is, this ad reflects the lack of monetary rewards for services rendered, a major source of job dissatisfaction for nurses. Godfrey polled nurses to identify sources of job dissatisfaction and found the following: poor salary, poor communication with physicians and hospital management, limited opportunities for advancement, heavy work load,

lack of stimulation, poor hours, and poor supervision.¹⁶ One nurse felt that the occupation should more aptly be labeled 'labor' in that professional benefits such as respect, monetary rewards, and autonomy were lacking. Many respondents felt that the real reason nursing was not valued or respected could be attributed to sex discrimination, since persons in jobs not comparable to the essential role of nursing were better paid with better hours and better benefits.

Additional factors which contribute to the nursing shortage include: the increased settings available to nurses, the intense nursing care which today's patients require, the increase in vocational choices available to women, the expanded role of nursing, the longer life span of the population, and advanced technologies in the field of nursing and medical practice. Barbara Nichols, president of the American Nurses' Association, noted that a nursing shortage of 90,000 to 100,000 vacant positions has the American Hospital Association concerned as "nurses are the major care providers in the nation's 7,000 hospitals."¹⁷

A key factor which Gail Warden of the American Hospital Association cites as contributing to the current nursing shortage was the rigidity of nursing educators and the American Nurses' Association. He blames the nursing academic community as a primary source of the problem because students are not prepared for realities they encounter in the actual work situation.¹⁸

Some of Warden's views are relevant, but are limited in scope and implication. How does an educator broaden the perspective of the soon-to-be-graduate whose major concern is the refinement of technical skills and survival in the work environment? How does an educator ward off the possibility of burnout in the frustrated or dissatisfied nurse or prevent the ensuing exodus from the profession? By providing students with knowledge about the social, political, and economic arena in which nursing exists, the student's expectations become more realistic and less idealistic. Recognition of the problems in nursing is necessary before changes to enhance the equality of men and women who choose nursing can occur. The educator can heighten students' awareness concerning the existing inequalities, offer possible solutions, and instill a problem-solving approach which may contribute to mitigating inequities.

The overall problems which nurses face could be addressed by a systematic, curriculum-based effort at consciousness-raising. Concepts such as respect, unity, equity, net-working, value, worth, and esteem and autonomy could be

explored on both an individual and professional level.

If autonomy is a trait valued in the graduate nurse, then educators must help their students develop autonomy. Flexibility in clinicals and class assignments which offer students increased freedom, increased responsibility and the chances to use self-directed, creative, and innovative strategies can contribute to a student's sense of autonomy. Primary nursing strategies could be cited as an example of innovative ways nurses are increasing their job satisfaction and gaining more autonomy within the profession. Barbara Nichols summarizes the nurses' plight: "Nurses have been cast in roles in which they frequently make life and death decision, but they operate by institutional rules that recognize only physicians as having authority to make independent professional decisions about their patients."¹⁹ The lack of autonomy and the failure of hospitals and doctors to recognize and value the nurses' role are sources of job dissatisfaction for hospital nurses.

Nursing educators can promote the collegial role for students by teaching assertiveness and the interpersonal communication skills and using them with co-workers, doctors, and hospital management as well as with patients. By fostering student participation in professional organizations and political workshops, the student's awareness of the legislative process and its effect on nursing will be increased. Unity, professional pride, and the collective use of power will contribute greatly in nurses' struggle for equity in the work setting.

National and state legislation and judicial rulings impact nursing. Nursing educators should be aware of and share knowledge about the dilemmas, defeats, and victories which will ultimately affect nursing students as future practitioners. Beck and McCarty cited the recent ruling against the Denver nurses who sought to overturn an inequitable pay policy as an example of nurses' use of the courts to rectify existing inequalities.²⁰ Cleland noted that it was not until 1970 that Bernice Sandler utilized the law to protect women against sex discrimination and not until 1971 did the Comprehensive Health Manpower Act and the Nurse Training Amendments Act prohibit sex discrimination in agencies receiving federal monies for health personnel training programs or contracts. She summarized by stating that "To end sex discrimination, women must first recognize and appreciate the nature of the problem, then agitate, educate, legislate, and negotiate until the last harmful vestiges are gone."²¹

There are strong parallels between the plight of nurses in the male-dominated power structure of the health care industry and the plight of women in general. If women are to become liberated, they must promote change. If nurses are to become liberated, they must promote change. Nursing education programs can be powerful forces for change, and change involves risk. A broadly based education which addresses the social, economic, and political problems of women through a systematic, curriculum-based program will prepare students to be innovators, not imitators; to deal with change; and dare to risk.

A student must become aware of a problem before solutions can be addressed. Educators can help students recognize the implications of the social and institutional influences and limitations which affect nursing. This information will have marked relevance for nursing students and their careers, and changes in the students' thinking, feeling, and doing can occur. The good that may well accrue as a result of the changes in thinking, feeling, and doing will benefit not only the nursing profession, but the health care consumer, and the quality of care which the student of today can offer the patients of tomorrow.

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WOMEN IN MUSIC EDUCATION:
SOME PERSPECTIVES AND PROSPECTS FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

Barrie Wells

Introduction

The Nature of Research Relating to Women in Music

A review of the literature describing the current status of women in music and music education reveals two basic kinds of treatment of the topic. One approach emphasizes the quantitative dimensions of the situation. Data are cited which indicate the extent to which women are represented or underrepresented in specific career classifications. In most of these studies, the assumption is that a significant imbalance in proportions of men and women in a particular field is a wrong which must be righted. In most cases in which these disproportions are reported, further data are provided which indicate that there are women seeking to enter the specific career categories, but not all of them succeed. These studies help us determine weaknesses in higher education advisement and preparation processes.

The other approach emphasizes the qualitative dimensions of the situation. The focus is upon those characteristics or circumstances which prevail in the field of music. The assumption of this approach is that there are factors which interact to influence the success of women studying for and attempting to enter specific careers in music. Such studies generally accept the notion that there are too few women in certain music career classifications, but they seek to treat the numerical assessments as symptoms of a more basic problem.

I am not completely comfortable with the apparent assumptions of these quantitative approaches. They address significant problems, but I am uneasy with the shortcomings of such approaches. From these approaches we learn that women are underrepresented in certain areas of music and music education. Though some data are available which reveal some areas of improvement in the past decade, there are too few indicators to help judge the effectiveness of remedies employed up to this point. The data reflect mixed trends. In general, these quantitative studies tell us that

the numerical aspects of the problems facing women in music and music education persist.

The quantitative approaches do not reveal adequately the dimensions which may be most useful to teachers and musicians wishing to promote increased opportunities for women in music. Furthermore, such quantitative aspects rarely focus upon the unique contributions women can and do make through their involvement in the fields of music and music education. The emphasis upon numbers and percentages can divert our attention from what should be the central issues. Therefore, I will not pursue at length a quantitative description of women in music. Rather, I will attempt to describe the central issues using some data gained from quantitative studies. I will suggest some ways of dealing with these issues and describe some specific areas in which women's concerns and needs might be appropriately addressed.

My contention will be that we can more profoundly address the numerical manifestations of the problems women face in the music education field by addressing the nature of the careers and the nature of the disciplines involved. In other words, if the underrepresentation of women and/or the difficulties women experience in pursuing lives and careers in music can be considered an illness in our field, I wish to suggest some healing approaches. I will contend that we will heal the organism more effectively by dealing with the qualitative features of the problem. The quantitative corrections will then follow more naturally.

The Role of Modeling

An assumption which pertains to both the qualitative and quantitative studies relating to women in the professions is that role models are significant determinants of the proportions of women found in any particular endeavor. Most researchers appear to believe that identification with gender roles develops early in one's life and is significantly influenced by the models we observe. In other words, if most elementary music teachers are women and most secondary music teachers are men, these circumstances either directly or indirectly cause us to develop gender stereotypes. These gender stereotypes will subsequently determine the concepts we develop and the choices we make. The phenomenon appears to be complex and pervasive. If you accept the assumption that gender roles are influenced significantly by example, data which address gender stereotypes will be useful. Research relating to the instrument choices of elementary students and the patterns in job interviews for music teaching

positions are examples of such sources of data.

The instruments young boys and girls choose to study are probably determined to some extent by the implied gender classifications exemplified by the models these children have. A study by Abeles and Porter suggested that sex stereotyping of music instrument preferences develops among young children, ages 6-10 years. Males' preferences tended to remain relatively stable at the "masculine" end of the instrument selection scale; whereas, females' preferences consistently moved towards the traditionally "feminine" instruments.¹

These same authors suggested that the modeling phenomenon would be a significant determinant in either further reinforcing these stereotypes or modifying them.² The tendency to adopt social norms for gender distinctions among instruments appears to carry right through to the college level music major.³ Such distinctions become social realities in terms of the professional choices music majors make.

The dominance of men in the fields of conducting, composing, and on certain instruments might be attributed to the modeling phenomenon. Recent studies reveal gender patterns which prevail in both K-12 school and higher education positions. There are other determinants of these gender patterns. These determinants may be related to the modeling phenomenon, but they tend to be basically distinct and will be discussed later.

Barry Kopetz reported that gender was one of the variables which appeared to determine instrumental music candidates' success in being selected for interviews.⁴ Male candidates were found to be preferred particularly by music supervisors. Though it was not part of Kopetz's research, he commented that a reasonably consistent pattern prevailed in the field he surveyed. Proportionately, there were significantly fewer women in instrumental music teaching. It would appear that this disproportion increases in the larger secondary schools. During 1974-1976, I conducted surveys among high school band directors relating to band activities surrounding athletic events. I found the proportion of women high school band directors to follow patterns similar to those reported by Kopetz. That is, as the size of the schools increased and the band directors tended to specialize at the high school level, relatively fewer women were present in these positions. Another interesting phenomenon was found, however. Among the high schools of North Dakota and northern Minnesota, there were proportionately more women in high school band positions than I had found in schools

of the more populous regions of the United States, the earlier school size distinctions notwithstanding. I can only speculate about how typical this pattern might be. If it is true that women tend to be relatively more numerous in band positions in smaller high schools of more sparsely populated regions, the ramifications for the modeling phenomenon would require some consideration and more research. Another aspect of Kopetz's findings tends to have its parallels in the patterns I detected. Kopetz found that music supervisors have a greater preference for male candidates than do other recruiters in the high schools. The interviewing and hiring decisions are typically handled by superintendents and principals in the smaller school districts, as they rarely have music supervisors. If, in fact, women are more successful in gaining access to teaching positions when the interviewers and recruiters are principals and superintendents rather than music supervisors or coordinators, this could partially account for the relatively higher number of women found in the smaller schools. Obviously, there are many variables. I can only speculate about the correspondence of smaller high schools and the relatively higher number of women music teachers.

Women in College Music

The presence of women in college music positions has an impact on the modeling phenomenon. It would appear that the numbers of women in higher education music appointments are increasing; however, the proportions of increase relative to the overall increase in positions is not reassuring. In her statistical study comparing two years, 1976 and 1977, Barbara Renton found that the increases in opportunities for women were found only in the lowest ranks.⁵ Renton found that the patterns of promotion favored the men proportionately more than the women. Another feature revealed in Renton's survey is the proportion of women in the various teaching areas. These circumstances have obvious impacts upon the opportunities for young men and women college students to witness women fulfilling the broad array of musicianly and pedagogical responsibilities typical in higher education.

Using the 1977 totals, here are the teaching areas listed in declining order of proportionate representation of women.

Women in College Music⁶

<u>Teaching Area</u>	<u>Percent Women</u>
Music Education--Early Childhood	69.89
Music Education--Elementary	56.65
Keyboard	44.14
Voice	43.28
Rudiments	34.42
Early Instruments	32.16
Choral Directors	30.17
Strings	28.49
Music Education--All	28.22
Directors of Operas	28.07
Introduction to Music/Music Appreciation	24.88
History/Literature	22.17
Theory and Analysis	21.35
Ethnomusicology	21.50
Western Hemisphere	20.57
Historical Musicology	19.29
Directors of Chamber Groups	18.55
Woodwinds	18.34
Music Education--High School	14.65
Directors of Performing Groups	14.06
Directors of Orchestras	9.62
Composition	9.59
Conducting	9.24
Percussion	8.70
Orchestration	8.50
Brass	6.47
Directors of Bands	4.60
Jazz	3.74

The patterns revealed in Renton's study are similar to those found in music education in the public schools. It would appear that one phenomenon might be the cause of the other, but it is more likely that the two interact. It is obvious that the scarcity of women in certain teaching areas will have an impact upon the career choices women make, if modeling is a significant determinant of these choices.

One of the determinants which appears to interact with the modeling phenomenon is anxiety. Trollinger found that highly creative women may be inhibited by anxiety, causing them to avoid college courses and career choices which might create anxiety. Conducting, composition, and harmony were the courses such women sought to avoid.⁷ To some extent, Trollinger's hypotheses are reinforced by the career patterns

reported by Renton.

An examination of these and similar studies leads to the conclusion that some beginnings have been established in bringing women into heretofore "male domains" in music education. Examples are available, but in some areas of teaching the examples are sparse and may not adequately serve as models simply because too few people will be aware of the existence of the precedents. The tendencies in the profession revealed by Kopetz can make us uneasy. They can persuade us to seek resources and procedures outside the normal purview of higher education and teaching preparation endeavors.

The notion that modeling can or should have an impact upon the opportunities which women perceive for themselves is a complex one. Many factors affect the extent to which people are influenced by example. We know that there are few women in certain areas of music and music teaching. In many instances these perceptions are influenced by the regional differences and misinformation. Composing and band directing appear to be two areas particularly underpopulated by women and subject to distortions of regional variation and misinformation. Various theories regarding the apparent lack of women in the top ranks of composers need some clarifications with facts. There are many fine women composers. Unfortunately, too little information has been made available about women's successes as composers. Jeannie Pool's fine article in the January, 1979 Music Educator's Journal is a rare exception. Ms. Pool lists over 120 recordings of works by American women composers.⁸ Weiss describes the success of women in both the performing and composing field.⁹ It is apparent that too little attention has been given the unique contributions women have made as performers and composers in all areas and styles of music.

The virtual absence of women band directors in colleges and the relative scarcity of them in larger high schools may be a matter of regional distortion and misinformation, but it is hard to deny the facts revealed by Renton in her study.

The perspectives of students in music in our schools may be inordinately influenced by the immediate presence or absence of female examples in certain musicianly roles. If this is the case, the responsibilities of the male teachers become more complex. There are significant numbers of females studying and participating in music at all levels. We cannot wait to provide female models for them. Our responsibilities are to help these young people expand their

opportunities. Making them aware of examples they can follow is just one of the approaches we can use.

In over twenty years of French horn playing and teaching, I have been consistently delighted by the quantity and quality of the young women horn players I have known and taught. Brass instruments represent an area traditionally dominated by males. The French horn is a refreshing exception to this pattern. Many young female horn players have identified very successfully with the instrument. They have performed and progressed well, equal to or better than their male counterparts. In many cases, the examples and teachers which guided these young ladies were males. The recorded and live examples were generally of men performers. We had some excellent professional female models for horn playing, but they were rare. I would contend that the absence of female professional models did not inhibit the success of these women horn students. I am confident that more and more women horn players will be making their way into the professional ranks.

Teacher Preparation

Within the field of teacher preparation, some patterns are apparent. Some of these patterns are worrisome; some are encouraging. In the northern plains, I contend that we have some unique problems, but there are some characteristics here which permit us to expand without the inhibitions more populous regions might experience. The challenges we face are eased somewhat by the fact that there are models of excellence in the field of teaching. There are many women music educators who are serving as leaders, whose contributions are significant to the broad area of musicianship and pedagogy. The characteristics of employment indigenous to the northern plains possibly simplify the issues relative to women in music. As earlier mentioned, the numbers of women teaching in the elementary and secondary schools of the northern plains are proportionately higher than those found in more populous areas. The opportunities are, therefore, more numerous for women wishing to enter teaching areas previously dominated by men. Typically, women wishing to teach music, even to teach high school band, will get their chance in the northern plains. Along with these benefits, there are some unique demands placed upon the teacher preparation institutions serving the northern plains. Women music educators need to be encouraged and prepared thoroughly to take on the broad responsibilities which normally apply to music teachers of this area. Whereas, in the past, the woman music educator was perceived as

specializing in education of the younger school children or in choral or general music education, more and more women are pursuing successful careers as K-12 instrumental and/or vocal teachers. Some of these circumstances are directly affiliated with the aforementioned characteristics of the smaller school districts. Nevertheless, these circumstances bring opportunities which help override some of the barriers of tradition for women in this particular field. Simply put, there are more opportunities to share equally with men all of the responsibilities for music education in the schools of this region. This means that women entering teacher preparation programs in this region are less likely to be discouraged by the lack of opportunities. The teacher preparation institutions of this region are probably a little less constrained in pursuing expanded opportunities for women. By contrast, my counterpart from a larger midwestern university described to me his situation this way: "I must inform my women secondary music education majors, particularly instrumental majors, that they will have a tougher time finding jobs . . . simply because they are women."

The Circumstances and Perspectives Summarized

It would appear, then, that the following conditions have affected or will affect the general circumstances and attitudes relative to women preparing to teach music. The smaller size of the schools appears to work in favor of expanded opportunities for women. There are more examples of women doing "men's work," and the consequent modeling affects the perspectives of future music students.

The traditional identification with the lower levels of schooling being the domain of women teachers is being modified by the entry of more and more men into this level as well as by the tendency for music teachers of smaller school systems to be responsible for all levels of teaching.

The general trend for increased awareness of women's needs and unique contributions in careers is having its effect upon the nature of the teacher preparation programs. The students entering these programs as well as the persons responsible for the programs are being influenced by this new consciousness.

The result is that women who previously would have hesitated to consider careers in music education areas traditionally dominated by men are encouraged by the increased number of models they can see in the field. The pressures upon higher education to reexamine programs in terms of

equal opportunity irrespective of gender are gradually having their impact. Problems still exist. Traditional barriers are still present. But we have reached the stage in the northern plains where we can genuinely encourage young women to pursue their aspirations in music education knowing that others have preceded them and have provided models of success.

There are models of women music educators within the teacher preparation institutions and there are models of women music educators in the public schools. The number of women who qualify as cooperating teachers for student teachers is growing. It appears that this trend will continue and will have a positive effect upon the number of women students who perceive themselves as prospective teachers in the field.

Women as Music Educators

Some Images, Some Facts

There are certain areas which retain gender distinctions or stereotypes within the music education field. The status of women within particular classifications can be summarized as follows.

Women as general music teachers: There is an image associated with being a general music teacher which appears to coincide with the elementary classroom image. This image typically classifies this as a woman's domain. As more men begin to move into this area, the gender distinction is likely to become less pronounced. Some of the strongest leadership in general music education is coming from the women in this field of elementary general music education. The men and women who specialize in general music have established excellent examples and strong traditions in curriculum design and organization and teamwork. There are a number of aspects to this particular teaching area which serve as models for the entire profession of music educators.

Women as supervisors and coordinators of music: There are excellent models of women in administrative positions in music. The stereotypes which identify certain jobs in music education as belonging traditionally to men or women are less well defined in administration. One might argue that women have done less well than men in the promotion to top positions. But the women who have succeeded are numerous enough and are significant leaders, so the modeling phenomenon is working here.

Women as performers/teachers: With some notable exceptions on certain instruments, primarily in percussion and brass, women have been able to gain status as performers on and teachers in all instrument categories. There are imbalances which parallel the patterns in higher education reported by Renton, but the general image of women as performers is gradually becoming liberalized. Women can perceive themselves and pursue fulfilling careers as performers.

Women as choral teachers/directors: The field of choral directing has opened up to women more quickly than has the field of instrumental directing. Some of this can be attributed to the need for and growth in female vocal performance which is a part of the choral tradition. Consequently, the image of the woman choral director is a more established component of our field. One feature which may be influencing this phenomenon is the nature of the ensembles being conducted. Most choral programs center around a mixed chorus which must, by its very nature, have a membership of at least 50% women. Since most ensemble directors develop their base of experience in the types of ensembles they eventually direct, the membership from which the future choral directors are being recruited is 50% or more women. This cannot account totally for the fact that women appear to be more established in the area of choral directing than in instrumental directing. However, the traditions of women in choral groups are far more established than are those of women in instrumental groups in the American schools.

Women as string/orchestra teachers: As Renton reported, women string teachers are relatively more numerous in higher education positions than are women orchestra or band directors. This disproportion tends to disappear in the public schools because almost every string teacher is an orchestra director, too. The traditions of women as string players are strong and growing. The image of the woman orchestra director is not as rare as that of the woman band director.

Women as band directors: As already reported, the tendency is for women band directors to be rare in the larger, more specialized high schools and more common at the elementary and junior high levels. These circumstances contribute to the image of band directing being a masculine pursuit. The image may be wavering, but the tendency remains. Women are relative newcomers in the school band movement. The traditions of all male bands faded slowly during the first half of the 20th century. It would appear that the trends towards equal opportunity for women in this area have been started.

The Means for Being Music Teachers

Another approach to analyzing the images of gender and careers in music education is to examine the various processes all music educators must employ. All music educators must learn to do the following musicianly "chores" to some extent; composing, improvising, conducting, analyzing, performing, and teaching. Are there gender stereotypes attached to any of these activities which would have an impact upon teacher preparation or general music education programs in higher education? There are no musicianly chores which women should find more difficult or less natural than men would. There are images of composing, improvising, and conducting which traditionally seem to have been more masculine in nature. Most of these gender images can be attributed to social causes. They are extra musical causes and can be overcome by conscientious music educators.

There are increasing numbers of examples of women succeeding as composers and improvisers. The place of women in jazz performance is well established in the vocal field and the contributions of women in the instrumental jazz field are growing.

Conducting presents some unique problems in terms of image projections. Because conducting is principally non-verbal and relies heavily upon body language, there are certain characteristics which may be creating unique problems for women. Most women conductors find it necessary to look to men for models. The qualities of conducting gestures frequently have a gender orientation. As a result, there may be certain components of conducting which women must modify. I have observed many women conductors in the public schools. Those who used their bodies and arms in a fashion which emulated men appeared to be constrained, clumsy, or unmusical. The "masculinity" of the gestures seemed to be unnatural for the women conductors. There is a certain element of custom in conducting which may reflect upon the perspectives of those watching the woman conductor. In other words, the awkwardness may only be in the eye of the beholder, but that, too, is an important factor. Whatever the case, there are certain elements unique to coaching and developing competent women conductors. Those women who seem to be most successful appear to have developed their own styles which obviate gender stereotypes.

Women have many strong precedents to follow in almost every facet of music education. There are some segments of music and music education which have significantly fewer models, thus our efforts to use models as a means of raising

the collective consciousness of the field as well as students preparing to enter the field will not be equally effective in all segments. There are some gender stereotypes which appear to inhibit either the female students or those who teach them. There appear to be no genuine or generic causes for women to be hindered in exploring and gaining access to every aspect of the music profession.

The Role of Institutions and Organizations

Certain institutions within our society play a major role either in maintaining or modifying current images and opportunities for women in music. Teacher preparation institutions can include in their programs specific courses or components of courses which will embrace women's needs and concerns. These components must provide access to the means earlier described; composing, improvising, conducting, analyzing, performing, and teaching. These, then, would become components of change. Though I perceive the teacher education institutions as potential leaders in this process, I contend that it will have to be a joint effort with the profession in the field. The administrators, as well as the teachers in the schools will need to be aware of the problems and possibilities unique in the music curriculums K-12. The simple adjustment in projection of gender images which inappropriately stereotype musical roles would be a major step forward. Such steps can be aided by the professional organizations which serve the teachers.

The colleges and the schools are becoming increasingly aware of the need to expand education regarding careers in music. As specific programs and courses are developed, the special needs and contributions of women in these careers will require appropriate attention. The present tendency for students to see only the public performers and the school music teacher as models tends to distort the images they develop. These students need to discover the other possibilities for careers in music.

Some Prospects and Proposals

Music in Higher Education

In 1978, Paulette Weiss suggested that "if all goes well," separating the study of women in music from other components of musical study will not be useful or necessary.¹⁰ That is a useful, realistic goal. But, for the present, some special efforts are going to be necessary to

correct the effects of neglect, conscious or unconscious discriminations, and simple misinformation about the roles and capacities of women in music. Although appropriate courses could be designed to focus attention upon some of these facets, I am proposing that each existing course be considered for revisions to include pertinent information. The needs are pervasive. Both men and women need to be provided with the expanded visions and learning opportunities presented by increased emphasis upon women's studies. Women need the emphasis particularly to compensate for the fact that there are reduced precedents or models of women's involvement in certain segments of the music field.

First, I will suggest general procedures which would apply to almost every music class. We need to correct the mistaken impressions that women rarely compose music, that certain musical roles or instruments should carry with them gender stereotypes or that musical ability is a gender-related phenomenon. It is apparent that we have failed to give proper credit to the many women composers, arrangers, lyricists, and performers, when we play recordings for our students. Perhaps, often, we simply ignore such information. The omission is significant particularly when the artist is a woman. Since we have some stubborn images of gender stereotypes, it will be necessary to give special attention to information which will address these stereotypes. I am not suggesting that we overemphasize the role and contributions of women. I am proposing appropriate, contextual treatment of this information on a consistent basis. We need to recognize the gender of performing artists and composers particularly when women are involved. To some extent, this will address the modeling phenomenon. At the same time we need to point out that the gender of the composer or artist does not need to be known for us to enjoy and gain from the listening or performing experience. With the obvious exception of vocal music, it is impossible to tell the gender of the performer(s) through listening alone. Many professional orchestras conduct behind-the-screen auditions in filling vacancies. Several years ago, a major symphony was auditioning applicants for an opening in the bassoon section. The conductor had invited from across the country a well known bassoonist to audition. Auditioning also was a young lady, an exceptional musician from the area, recently graduated from high school. The auditions were conducted behind a screen, and the young lady was appointed. Judging from what I knew surrounding that particular situation, I would speculate that both the young lady's gender and youth would have prevented her from receiving the appointment had the conductor known whom he was auditioning at the time.

We need to provide appropriate compensation for the omissions and misinformation of the past. When appropriate models or precedents are rare or do not exist in our immediate situations, compensatory procedures may be appropriate. First of all, the absence of female precedents or models in a particular music endeavor or role does not mean that women cannot or should not be involved. Failing to make some adjustments in such situations may not have a significant impact upon the perceptions and actions of your students at that particular point. However, one of the theories behind the concern for modeling or example-setting is that there is an accumulative effect involved. It is theorized that consistent experiences with music in which only males seem to play the dominant role, either on a numerical basis or through the nature of that role (i.e., composer, conductor, first chair, etc.) will cause both males and females to perceive their roles in the light of those experiences. Therefore, when we cannot find ample precedent which reflects the potential for expanded opportunities for women in the activities and studies we bring before our music students, we need to make some compensations somewhere along the way. Avoid making stereotypical remarks. Not all composers are men; not all horn players are men. Though it may be awkward, our written and spoken communications should avoid using "he" as a universal pronoun. We should attempt to find examples which will balance and clarify the historical perspectives. We are in an age of growing awareness of weaknesses in past practices and of the potential for expanded opportunities for women. When we study our art and customs of the past, we need to bring to light the vision that these were not necessarily precedents which bind us to the same social mistakes and prejudices.

Performance

In the area of performance, there are some challenges and problems unique to college programs. In the case of instrumental performance, most college music students will have already studied their major instrument for many years. The issue of gender stereotyping of instrument choice may not arise. However, there will be occasions when problems unique to that particular instrument will require different approaches depending upon the gender of the student. The distinctions I am about to make may be subtle or tenuous, but my experience leads me to believe some considerations of this nature are appropriate. It appears to me that some women instrumental students may perceive their instrument study in a tentative fashion. Because they do not envision themselves performing "seriously" after college, their

commitment to practicing and studying may be compromised. This problem also arises among men students, but I suspect it is different for women. The kinds of anxieties and pressures for public performance, instrumental juries, and competition may cause the capable, creative woman student to avoid the risks involved. Whereas the man might be expected to persevere in such circumstances, the woman may not stay with it. I suspect there may be teacher-related facets to these phenomena. As teachers, we may aggravate the woman's anxiety, particularly when most of the teachers and juries are men. By insisting that the women face the same risks as the men, we may be giving too little consideration to the unique problems the women students face. The research suggests that creative women perceive and react to anxiety differently than men do. If this is so, it seems that our jury systems, our performance expectations and the emphasis upon competition may work unfairly against women. Possible remedies might be expanded performance opportunities with reduced risks, experiences during which the performance pressures are gradually increased to the levels of juries and public performance, and increased opportunities for men and women students to perform for each other in more relaxed informal settings, thus creating opportunities for more mutually supportive interactions. Vocal music instruction has been more easily adapted to these kinds of procedures and might serve as a model for similar practices in instrumental instruction. These suggestions and concerns apply to men as well as women students. The point I would make in this regard is that failure to allow for growth in confronting anxiety and risk may have a disproportionately negative effect upon women students.

I would not advocate relaxation of musical standards or expectations. Our musical goals for the women students must be the same as those for men students. There is no basis for contending that our women students would benefit from working with reduced musical expectations.

Conducting

The area of conducting is similar to performance in terms of the musical demands, the risks, and anxieties involved, and the need for gradual development of skills and confidence. As discussed earlier, there are some gestures which, by custom, have become gender stereotyped. Imitation forms a solid, almost immutable bond between the young conductor and his/her ensemble conductor(s). I have observed many young conductors in the public schools and many student teachers as conductors. In most cases, it is possible to

trace certain gestures, certain trademarks of style to a college or high school conductor under whom these younger musicians performed. The problem I witness applies to both men and women conductors, but it may be more critical for women simply because most of the models being imitated are men. I will suggest some special considerations which may help.

First of all, the bond of imitation should be broken in the conducting classes. Students should be encouraged to develop their own styles of gestures within the limits of variations which make musical sense. Students will frequently borrow a gesture or overall style they like and employ it inappropriately, out of musical context. They need to develop a certain common conducting vocabulary and repertoire of gestures, then employ them in a variety of musical contexts in order to solidify their individual styles. During this process, if the women conductors appear to be adopting gestures which contradict either their own body styles or the content of the music, some corrective measures should be taken. In the same manner, men students may benefit from similar kinds of approaches. The use of video taping for self assessment may help. Viewing other women conductors should also be a part of the early learning experiences in the conducting class. Analysis of particular gestures or body movements would then follow. Modes and gestures of expression for energy, intensity, flow, agitation, and repose are likely to be unique for men and women conductors.

Conducting choral groups may be perceived as being different from conducting instrumental groups. Griswold and Chrobak reported that, among undergraduate college music majors and nonmajors, choral conducting had feminine connotations; band directing, masculine connotations. These findings were consistent with other studies which probed similar gender images among other groups and ages.¹¹ I am uncertain that this particular pattern of perceptions can be addressed appropriately in our conducting classes. My concern would be that young men and women conductors be permitted to pursue their career choices by developing styles of conducting which are appropriate to their gender, not the gender connotations of the groups they are preparing to conduct.

Teaching

The music teaching area is a complex field to analyze in terms of women's perspectives and opportunities. In addition to the wide variety of teaching areas or specialties

such as instrumental, vocal, and general music, there are the grade level specialties of early childhood, elementary, junior high, senior high, and post-secondary. The patterns of employment of women in the teaching field K-12 parallel the patterns described earlier by Renton. The proportionate number of women increases as we move from band to choral, and to general music, with string music being a separate category in which women are relatively well represented. In the same manner, the proportionate number of women increases as we move from secondary to junior and to the elementary and early childhood levels. These patterns tend to become self-reinforcing because of the modeling phenomenon. There are other causes for these patterns, and these causes suggest remedies we can employ in higher education.

Some men and women students may enter college with a relatively broad or open idea about the areas of music teaching they wish to pursue. It is more common, however, for the entering freshman to have a specific notion of the area in which he or she would like to teach. Frequently, the notion corresponds to an admired music teacher model. Another large group of entering freshman music majors may not perceive themselves as future teachers. There is generally a shifting of these notions as the undergraduates adjust to the pressures and expectations of studies in music theory and literature, ensemble performance, and applied music studies. The typical shifts and pressures generally center around the students' successes and abilities in applied music and music theory. Another area which may be pivotal is the development of skill in sight singing and ear training. These experiences may carry with them intense anxiety. Programs of study leading to secondary level credentials typically carry a recital, jury, or some other performance pressure. Programs leading to elementary credentials typically do not carry such requirements, though the options are generally available. Secondary credential programs typically call for more extensive studies in theory and literature than do the elementary credential programs. These pressures and loads, coupled with a growing concern for the real or perceived opportunities in the teaching field generally bring about a career decision during the sophomore or junior year. Though I cannot describe precisely at what point each of these factors acts as a determinant, I am convinced that the overall interactions of these features influences our students in the choices they make.

An academic advising program is normally expected to play a role in helping these students evaluate these pressures and anxieties and make important career decisions. The role that all faculty members and peers play in this

process may be very significant. Some of the unofficial advisors are the studio teachers, ensemble directors, and school teachers whom the students observe in their initial field experiences. The effect of one or a combination of these unofficial advisors may be far more profound than the effect of the one advisor to whom the student may be assigned. In the case of women students, the collective advising process will be a major determinant particularly when anxieties and risks are prevalent. It is difficult to specify how each faculty member might contribute most effectively in the process. The influences are interactive and frequently very subtle. I can suggest some procedures. Women students should not be summarily dismissed from certain teacher preparation programs because they falter before the pressures of competition and public performance. They should be given opportunities to adjust to the expectations of the program. Women students should be encouraged to seek out and observe models in the particular teaching area(s) they are considering. The teachers of rudiments and theory need to be aware of their influence during the critical first two years of the college music program. In general, I am proposing that college music faculties develop a collective awareness of their special responsibilities to encourage women music students, to avoid reinforcing gender stereotypes, and to expand the visions of their men and women students relative to their opportunities in music.

As earlier described, when compared to national patterns, there are proportionately more women entering the predominantly male music teaching areas in the northern plains. I have already speculated that this pattern appears unique to more sparsely populated regions. It is also significant that the teaching job market is relatively open and free in the northern plains. Most teacher candidates are able to find jobs. These conditions probably influence the situation relative to opportunities for women. This circumstance offers to us the opportunity to encourage women to enter the teaching profession without inhibiting their choices because of traditional gender distinctions. In the same manner, I would hope that we could encourage more men to perceive themselves as effective early childhood and elementary music teachers.

Composing/Improvising

In the areas of composing and improvising, I will relate these musicianly activities to the teacher role. I suggest that we find ways to encourage both men and women preparing to teach to pursue composing and improvising in

their upper division studies. Unfortunately, the typical pattern is for these students to drop such endeavors at the critical time when it is appropriate to integrate them into their musical lives. The notable exception is those students involved in jazz performance or advanced classes in composition or arranging. Both for their own personal needs as developing musicians and the needs of their future students who will see these persons as models, the composing and improvising endeavors must be expanded. There are ways of integrating composing and improvising into applied music studies, ensemble performance, methods courses, and student teaching. Such an expanded role for these activities would benefit men and women students alike.

Implications for Program/Curriculum Development

In general, I am advocating integrative approaches for focusing more attention upon women's concerns and opportunities in music and music education. Rather than rewriting courses of study, degree programs, and the like, we can bring about subtle changes in our teaching and planning which will address most of the issues and concerns I have raised. We need to assess our efforts in terms of the unconscious ways we may be inhibiting women in pursuit of full opportunities in music. We need to direct specific energies towards expanding women's opportunities, encouraging women to enter fields typically dominated by men.

Each major component of the music education program, the performance program, the core studies, and the pedagogical areas, has a role in this overall mission. I envision the process as a broad rather than narrow focus upon women's concerns. I envision men and women being equally well served by such efforts, for the focus upon consciousness and establishment of appropriate models will be a joint effort of men and women serving each other and the boys and girls in our schools.

FOOTNOTES

1. Harold F. Abeles and Susan Yank Porter, "The Sex-Stereotyping of Musical Instruments," Journal of Research in Music Education 56 (Summer, 1978), pp. 65-75.
2. Abeles and Porter, "So Your Daughter Wants to Be a Drummer?" Music Educators Journal 65 (January, 1979), pp. 46-49.
3. Philip A. Griswold and Denise A. Chroback, "Sex-Role Associations of Music Instruments and Occupations by Gender and Major," Journal of Research in Music Education 29 (Spring, 1981), p. 57.
4. Barry Kopetz, "The Effect of Selected Characteristics of First-Time Applicants for Instrumental Music Positions on Teacher Employment Decisions" (Paper delivered at the Forty-Seventh Meeting of the Music Educators National Conference, Minneapolis, Minnesota, April 22-25, 1981).
5. Barbara Hampton Renton, The Status of Women in College Music, 1976-77: A Statistical Study (College Music Society, Report Number 2, 1980).
6. Renton, The Status of Women, p. 11.
7. Laree M. Trollinger, "Affective Responses of High and Low Creative Women Musicians to Undergraduate Music Courses" (Paper delivered at the Forty-Seventh Meeting of the Music Educators National Conference, Minneapolis, Minnesota, April 22-25, 1981).
8. Jeannie G. Pool, "America's Women Composers: Up From the Footnotes," Music Educators Journal 65 (January, 1975), pp. 28-41.
9. Paulette Weiss, "Women in Music: A 1978 Perspective," Music Educators Journal 65 (January, 1979), pp. 43-45.
10. Weiss, "Women in Music," p. 43.
11. Griswold and Chroback, "Sex-Role Associations of Music Instruments," p. 60.

Collecting a bibliography on women's scholarship in a discipline or professional field is a very useful tool for influencing course content in that area. Gretchen Chesley Lang demonstrates how her resource guide for selected topics and materials on women in society and culture are an effective tool for academic planning in her field of anthropology.

WOMEN IN SOCIETY AND CULTURE:
AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

Resource Guide for Selected Topics and Materials

Gretchen Chesley Lang

Introduction

This paper will provide a framework for exploring some of the questions and issues that anthropologists are currently examining and reexamining with respect to women's participation in society and culture. The material will be presented in three sections: (1) a general background discussion of some of the concerns within the anthropological discipline by those conducting research focused upon women and by feminist anthropologists, (2) short discussions and reference material on specific topics that are currently being addressed with reference to women, and (3) a course outline within which these topics may be studied. References to cited literature will be placed within each section.

I. Anthropology and the Study of Women

During the past decade there has been a growing body of scholarship on women within most academic disciplines (cf. Stimpson 1981). Because anthropology has as its overall objective the study of human nature--in its diversity and commonality as manifested in the many societies of the world, in the present and in the past--scholars and students in other disciplines frequently draw upon the anthropological record. At least in part as the result of the women's movement, new perspectives on subjects such as early societal forms, the range of variation in women and men's roles in different types of societies, and a fuller understanding of the interaction of biological and sociocultural factors in shaping behavioral differences between the sexes are being presented and debated within the literature (cf. Rosaldo 1980; Leacock 1978; Lamphere 1977; Stack et al. 1975). Long-standing assumptions about the universality of male dominance and female subordination as determined primarily by the biological facts of childbearing by women and/or genetically-programmed behavioral differences between women and men are being reconsidered in new theoretical frameworks.

These approaches include social and cultural variables as the primary determinants in women and men's roles and position with respect to one another in various types of societies.

In regard to the social sciences in general, Westcott (1979) has pointed out that the increasing volume of books and articles on women presently appearing in print represent in part the current "fad" to fill in obvious gaps in the record; however, more importantly there is a growing awareness by scholars in many fields that the paucity of information about women reflects serious failures in the existing research approaches and questions that are being asked. Westcott has voiced the concern that women have been defined exclusively in terms of their relationship to men, reflecting a cultural bias that has often excluded a holistic view of women's full participation in society and culture. Rather than doing more of the same, i.e., to fill in gaps on women to correspond to what we know already about men, she calls for alternative approaches to social phenomena as a whole, especially those that emphasize the explanations, understandings, and meanings as held by members of society themselves. Furthermore, Westcott (1981) argues that social science must attempt to transcend categories and assumptions that reflect an "androcentric bias" (male-centered) in research.

These issues are not new within the field of anthropology, mainly because of the long recognition of the risks of cultural bias when conducting in-depth, participant-observation field studies with non-Western communities (Boas 1938; Pelto and Pelto 1980). While these concerns have been discussed at great length in the anthropological literature, recent articles by Bujra (1975), Ifeka (1975), Leacock (1978), Schrijvers (1979), and Rohrlich-Leavitt, et al. (1975) have identified and discussed an androcentric bias in anthropology that has too often produced ethnographic descriptions in which women are characterized primarily in terms of "food preparation and child care" along with unquestioned assumptions that women are of lower status (Leacock 1978: 247).

In spite of the fact that anthropologists at the turn of the century often sought out isolated, seemingly autonomous societies for study, they have rarely had the opportunity to share in the experiences of a people who were "untouched" by outside influences. In recent centuries this was generally in the form of interaction between local populations and early European explorers, traders, natural historians, missionaries, administrators of colonial regimes,

and eventually anthropologists. Such contacts markedly influenced native people's subsequent adaptations in economic, social, and political organization including changes in traditional women and men's roles (e.g., the fur trade in North America; cf. Lewis 1942; Murphy and Steward 1956). Early descriptions of non-Western peoples were often distorted by the cultural standards and ideals for sex roles in the Western European world; for example, Leacock (1978:248) quotes from the Jesuit Relations reporting LeJeune's contact with a seventeenth-century Montagnais-Naskapi trapper as follows: "I told him that he was the master and that in France women do not rule their husbands."

These brief examples are used merely as an illustration of some of the factors that one must consider when interpreting the historical record and the anthropological literature as well. While there are obvious limitations upon what one ethnographer can research in a fieldwork situation, and the gender of the researcher is undoubtedly a constraining factor in exploring various aspects of most communities, whether one is a woman or a man, good ethnographers attempt to describe their biases and limitations and situational factors that have affected their field study. And just as fieldwork techniques are important, it is crucial for ethnography that assumptions underlying the questions posed are carefully examined.

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1978 Women's Status in Egalitarian Society: Implications for Social Evolution. Current Anthropology 19(2):247-275.
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1956 Tappers and Trappers: Parallel Processes in Acculturation. Economic Development and Cultural Change 4.
- Pelto, Pertti and Pelto, Gretel H.
1980 Anthropological Research: The Structure of Inquiry. New York: Cambridge University Press.
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1975 Aboriginal Woman: Male and Female Anthropological Perspectives. In Women Cross-Culturally: Change and Challenge. The Hague: Mouton Publ.
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Schrijvers, Joke

- 1979 Viricentrism and Anthropology. In The Politics of Anthropology, Ed. Gerrit Huizer and Bruce Mannheim. The Hague: Mouton Publ.

Stack, Carol, Mina Davis Caulfield, Valerie Estes, Susan Landes, Karen Larson, Pamela Johnson, Juliet Rake and Judith Shirek

- 1975 Review: Anthropology. Signs 1(1):147-159.

Stimpson, Catharine

- 1981 Athena Redeemed: The New Scholarship on Women. Public Lecture, University of North Dakota (available on cassette from UND).

Westkott, Marcia

- 1979 Feminist Criticism of the Social Sciences. Harvard Educational Review. 49(4):422-430.

- 1981 The New Woman and the Old Man: Models of Success in Business. Public Lecture, University of North Dakota (available on cassette from UND).

II. Topics of Current Interest and Selected References

1. Biological Factors and Sociocultural Learning in the Determination of Gender-Related Behaviors

Anthropology is obviously not the only discipline dealing with the nature-nurture issues; however, because of the cross-cultural emphasis in anthropology and comparative studies of non-human primates--especially field-based studies of social behavior (cf. DeVore 1965; Jay 1968; Lawick-Goodall 197; Schaller 1965)--there is a growing literature that documents the variability in male-female behavior in both human and non-human primate societies. Margaret Mead's Sex and Temperment in Three Primitive Societies (1931) is a classic study of three New Guinea societies with respect to social role and personality "ideals;" this study attempted to illustrate the flexibility in male and female roles even within a relatively small geographical area, and how differently these roles and expected behaviors may diverge from those in European and American cultures.

Pelto and Pelto (1979) review the current status of research on the interrelationship of biological factors and sociocultural learning in their chapter entitled "Male and Female: Vive le Difference." Money and Ehrhardt (1972) have made a strong case for the importance of social learning on sex-role behavior as opposed to biological--inherent--differences in studies of hermaphrodites, and Chodorow (1972; 1978) presents an argument for the importance of cultural as opposed to biological factors in explaining many differences.

Hutt (1972) on the other hand, in studies in psychology and physiology, has demonstrated marked differences between males and females in such areas as sensitivity to sound (women more sensitive), ability in spatial relations perception (males rank higher in tests) and other kinds of variables. However, it should be pointed out that there is a notable lack of such studies among non-Westernized peoples, which limits the kinds of generalizations about "human nature" that can be made at present. In a recent issue of Science (March 21, 1981) current research by biologists and psychologists dealing with hormonal and cybernetic factors in sex-related behavioral differences is presented.

With respect to non-human primates, Lancaster (1975) has reviewed research on social organization and behavior, finding a marked variability and flexibility in male-female relationships among various primate groups that are not explained by any single factor. As for such characteristics of sexual dimorphism (e.g., factors of size and weight

differences between male and females among primate groups) adaptations to particular ecological conditions appear to be important correlates of behavioral differences in sex roles. Likewise, Leibowitz (1978) reviews literature on human and non-human primate familial groups that "challenges any single explanation for sex roles or family types." Finally, Oliver (1981) has included several chapters in an introductory level textbook on primates with good bibliographic resources and an explanation as to how much studies of non-human primates may contribute to our understanding of earliest human social behaviors (cf. Oliver 1981, Chapters 4, 5, and 6).

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1972 Being and Doing: A Cross-Cultural Examination of the Socialization of Males and Females. In Women in Sexist Society, Eds. V. Gornick and B. K. Moran. New York: Basic Books.
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1972 Males and Females. Baltimore: Penguin Books.
- Jay, Phyllis, Ed.
1968 Primates: Studies in Adaptation and Variability. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.
- Lancaster, Jane
1975 Primate Behavior and the Emergence of Human Culture. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.
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1978 Females, Males, Families. North Scituate, Mass: Duxbury Press.
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1971 In the Shadow of Man. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Mead, Margaret
1931 Sex and Temperment in Three Primitive Societies. New York: Morrow.
- Money, J. and A. A. Ehrhardt
1972 Man and Woman, Boy and Girl. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press.
- Oliver, Chad
1981 The Discovery of Humanity: An Introduction to Anthropology. New York: Harper and Row.
- Pelto, Pertti and Gretel Pelto
1979 The Cultural Dimension of the Human Adventure. New York: Macmillan.

Schaller, George

1965 Behavioral Comparisons of the Apes, In Primate
Behavior, Ed. I. DeVore. New York: Holt, Rine-
hart, and Winston.

2. Women and Men in Evolution

One of the criticisms of attempts by anthropologists and paleontologists to reconstruct earliest hominid life-ways (which dates back 3-5 million years) is that the hunting aspect of these early societies--assumed to have been a primarily male activity--has been emphasized to the exclusion of women's roles in subsistence and social life. This orientation is also seen in the attempt to explain biological adaptations, such as upright posture, increased cranial capacity, development of language as well as in reconstructions of prehistoric social life. In addition to archaeological and paleontological evidence, one of the ways by which anthropologists try to reconstruct the subsistence patterns, social organization, and even the belief systems of these prehistoric populations is by inference from living hunter-gather groups. For example, a great amount of ethnographic study as well as biomedical study has been carried out with the Bushmen of the Kalahari in southern Africa where environmental conditions are roughly similar to the southern and eastern African savannah in which early man evolved. Detailed ethnographic studies have also been made of other hunter-gatherer groups in environments ranging from tropical rainforests to the Arctic circle.

In a two-part major review and analytical essay of women's part in the evolutionary picture, Tanner and Zihlman (1976) and Zihlman (1979) have tried to outline female participation in subsistence, technology, and social organization. Also, in an article entitled "Woman the Gatherer," Slocum (1975) has attempted to round out the picture with emphasis upon the roles of women in subsistence--gathering of plant food in particular--which we have learned from ethnographic studies contributes 70-80% of the dietary intake of many hunter-gatherers. The title of her article is a parody on the classic and valuable collection of articles on hunter-gatherer societies entitled Man the Hunter (Lee and DeVore 1969). In a new collection of essays edited by Dahlberg (1981) by the same title, Woman the Gatherer, a number of authorities analyze the flexibility in social organization of hunter-gatherers and the importance of cooperation between the sexes. Rosaldo (1980), in reference to Slocum's (1975) work, has cautioned that while an emphasis upon "woman the gatherer" has provided valuable information about a neglected subject area, especially with regard to the autonomy and self-regard of females, there is the risk of a kind of stereotyping of sex roles that emphasizes "woman's sphere" as something separate from that of men; she feels that we must look at the ways in which men and women work together in societies that they have created, and at the

meanings that these activities have within the cultural system. Leacock (1978) who did extensive fieldwork in the early 1950s with the Montagnais Indians in Canada has likewise stressed the autonomy of individuals, male or female, in band societies, and the dangers of using categories that pertain to complex, specialized societies (and that spring from Western European tradition) in analyzing lifestyles of band societies where economic, social, and political functions are closely interwoven with every aspect of life.

Anthropologists have much to learn from rapidly-disappearing hunter-gatherer peoples; societal forms such as horticultural, pastoral (animal herding), intensive agriculture and the complex societies of the modern world are a very recent phenomenon in terms of man's evolutionary history. The development of the domestication of plants and animals and the implications of food production systems on population, specialization of labor and social political phenomena such as the rise of the state--occurred within the past 15,000 years, a short period of time for those in the hominid line. Divisions of the social sphere based on wealth and class--and ethnicity or race--are a phenomena of the more complex societal forms; and most writers concur that sexual asymmetry has become more pronounced in these more complex societal forms than in the band societal organization of the past.

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1978 Women's Status in Egalitarian Society: Implications for Social Evolution. *Current Anthropology* 19(2):247-275.
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1968 *Man the Hunter*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co.
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- Slocum, Sally
1975 *Woman the Gatherer: Male Bias in Anthropology, In Towards an Anthropology of Women*, ed. R. Reiter. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Tanner, Nancy and Adrienne Zihlman
1976 Women in Evolution. Part I: Innovation and Selection in Human Origins. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 1(3, pt. 1):585-608.
- Zihlman, Adrienne
1978 Women in Evolution, Part II: Subsistence and Social Organization among Early Hominids. *Signs* 4(1):4-20.

3. The Question of Matriarchy

Social philosophers and other writers of the Nineteenth Century were extremely interested in the origins of social organization along with questions about human nature and the evolution of institutions such as family, marriage, and forms of political organization. Bachofen, a Swiss-German student of philosophy and ancient law, in his work Das Mutterrecht (1861), meaning "Mother Right," construed a model for the original domination of the mother over family and state, which he claimed evolved first into matrilineal societies (where property is inherited through the female line), with these eventually overthrown by male-dominated patriarchal systems. As evidence for the existence of matriarchy as a prior social form, Bachofen drew upon the mythology and symbolism of ancient Greece, Rome and early states in India and Egypt (Fluehr-Lobben 1979). Other writers of the Nineteenth Century with theories of the origin of family and state included Maine (1861) who supported patriarchy as the natural and original form of human society, and McLennan (1870), Morgan (1877) and Tylor (1899) who all envisioned an earlier promiscuous horde succeeded by matriarchal rule and finally patriarchal (cf. Lowie 1937; Harris 1968; Fluehr-Lobben 1979 for descriptions and divergent appraisals of these writings).

Leacock (1978), Fluehr-Lobben (1979) and Caulfield (1981) have all critiqued the conventional Twentieth Century dismissal of the matriarchy by anthropological writers on the grounds that along with condemning Nineteenth Century speculative thinking about social and cultural evolutionary stages was a neglect of the privileges, power and status that were held by women in certain non-Western societies. They do not find supporting evidence in the literature for a "golden age of rule by women," nor do they think that this is an important objective (in spite of the popular revival of such a concept by some feminist writers). However, I think there is agreement between these three writers that by examining pre-class and class societies, in terms of division of labor, and by examining relations between women's and men's roles in these different types of social systems along with the emergence of privately-owned wealth in class society and the state, we may be able to identify transformations in the hierarchical relations between the sexes that can point to crucial processes at work in social change and evolution (Leacock 1972; Fluehr-Lobben 1979:348). In other words, to these writers it is more important that the generation of models for examining social change--such as the materialist analyses that they employ--is occurring rather than finding evidence for a particular stage in

cultural evolution. Along these lines, Sacks (1980) also offers a penetrating analysis of the intellectual traditions that have shaped our understanding of women's roles; her study examines four diverse African societies in terms of women's control over production as sisters on one hand and wives on the other.

One of the important offshoots of the revival of interest in the matriarchate is new attention to the roles of women within contemporary matrilineal societies. In a recent lecture, Caulfield (1981) reviewed earlier anthropological writings on matrilineal societies (notably those of Malinowski) and attempted to demonstrate that there has been a tendency to view the family and kinship within non-Western societies from a male-oriented Western perspective, in spite of the fact that anthropologists have described so many diverse social systems; for example, matrilineal kinship systems (in which descent is traced through the female line) have been assumed to be the mirror image of patrilineal societies, with men holding political authority--formal and public--within both types. Briffault's writings (1952 [1927]), according to Caulfield, which were not accepted at the time, brought up issues about matriarchy and matrilineal society that only now are being productively reexamined.

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- Sacks, Karen
1979 *Sisters and Wives: The Past and Future of Sexual Inequality*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Leacock, Eleanor
1972 Introduction, "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State," by Frederick Engels. Pp. 7-67. New York: International.
- 1978 Women's Status in Egalitarian Society: Implications for Social Evolution. *Current Anthropology* 19(2):247-275.

4. Women in Contemporary Society and Culture: General References

Within the past 10 years, a number of edited collections, books, and a great number of articles have appeared on women's roles in subsistence patterns, social organizational aspects of women's lives, and women and symbolism for many cultures of the world. Many of these articles have been written by ethnographers who have reworked their field data to focus upon women, but a growing number of books and articles are appearing that report on research that was done specifically on women's lives from various theoretical perspectives. In particular, ethnographies by Stack (1974) on Black families and Lamphere on Navajo (1974) and Portugese immigrant (1980) family networks and domestic groups examine the roles of women and men from a social strategies perspective. Perhaps one of the best collections is the reader Woman, Culture and Society, edited by Rosaldo and Lamphere (1974). It is a good introduction to the issues and as an assigned book for a course. A number of other collections and books are listed below as well, along with some journals that carry articles of theoretical and methodological significance.

Edited Collections and Books

Borun, Minda, et al.

- 1971 Women's Liberation: An Anthropological View.
New York, Know, Inc.

Friedl, Ernestine

- 1975 Women and Men: An Anthropologist's View. New
York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.

Huber, Joan, Ed.

- 1972 Changing Women in a Changing Society. Chicago:
U of Chicago Press.

Jacobs, Sue Ellen

- 1971 Women in Cross-Cultural Perspective. Urbana:
U of Illinois Press.

Lamphere, Louise

- 1974 To Run After Them: Cultural and Social Bases of
Cooperation in a Navajo Community. Tucson, Ariz.
University of Ariz. Press.

- 1980 Kin Networks and Family Strategies: Working
Class Portuguese Families in New England. In The
Versatility of Kinship, Ed. Linda Cordell. New
York: Academic Press.

Matthiasson, Carolyn J., Ed.

- 1974 Many Sisters. New York: The Free Press.

MacCormack, Carol, Ed.

- 1980 Nature, Culture and Gender. New York: Cam-
bridge Univ. Press.

O'Kelly, Charlotte

- 1980 Anthropology of Women and Men.

Raphael, Dana, Ed.

- 1975 Being Female. The Hague: Mouton Publ.

Reiter, Rayna, Ed.

- 1975 Towards An Anthropology of Women. New York:
Monthly Review Press.

Rohrlich-Leavitt, Ruby, Ed.

- 1975 Women Cross-Culturally: Change and Challenge.
The Hague: Mouton Publ.

Rosaldo, M. Z. and Louise Lamphere, Eds.
1974 Women, Culture and Society. Stanford: Stanford
U Press.

Stack, Carol
1974 All Our Kin: Strategies for Survival in a Black
Community. New York: Harper and Row.

Selected Articles and Books with Good Bibliographies

This list is by no means comprehensive, and can only touch upon the surface of available material; however, the books listed in previous sections and the following references all have excellent bibliographies and can hopefully lead one to more specialized reference material.

Boserup, Esther
1970 The Role of Women in Economic Development.
London: George Allen and Unwin.

Brown, Paula and G. Buchbinder, Eds.
1976 Male and Female in the New Guinea Highlands.
Amer. Anthro. Ass'n. Spec. Publ. 8.

Etienne, Mona, and Eleanor Leacock, Eds.
1980 Women and Colonization: Anthropological Per-
spective. Praeger Bks.

Gale, Fay Ed.
1974 Women's Role in Aboriginal Society. Canberra:
Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.

Green, Rayne
1980 Native American Women: Review Essay. Signs
6(2):248-267.

Newmark, Eileen, Ed.
1980 Women's Roles: A Cross-Cultural Perspective.

Paulme, Denise, Ed.
1963 Women of Tropical Africa. Berkeley: U. of
California Press.

Wapper, Audrey
1972 The Roles of African Women: Past, Present and
Future. Canadian Journal of African Studies
6(14).

Young, Marilyn B.
1973 Women in China. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Center for
Chinese Studies.

Journals with Articles Dealing with Women
and Women's Roles

American Anthropology

American Ethnologist

Current Anthropology

Human Organization

Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society

5. Women in the Colonial and Post-Colonial World

A growing number of studies and analyses of women in societies that are now in a post-colonial period--Third World countries--have appeared also in the last decade. The theoretical concerns with regard to women's roles are similar in a number of ways to reexaminations of assumptions about cultural change and the role of socioeconomic influences on Third World populations in general. Much of this reexamination has taken a Marxist, or materialist, approach. Leacock (1979) and Keesing (1981) have both pointed out the distinction between the commonly-held point of view that the problems of Third World countries (including the lower status of women, inadequate nutrition, fragmentation of traditional kinship structures and other social integrating mechanisms) are due to inherent characteristics of traditional societies when faced with rapid change, and their opposing view that women's status as well as other economic, social and political difficulties have resulted directly from the effects of colonialism and post-colonial influences, e.g., a shift from traditional subsistence patterns to wage labor and cash-cropping. Exploitation of class, race, and sex fall together in this type of analysis, and it is from this perspective, such as the edited collection of articles in Etienne and Leacock (1980), that the majority of studies of women in colonialism have been written.

According to Rosaldo (1980) and Leacock (1975), among others, focusing upon "women's world" or "domestic sphere" in an attempt to find unique strengths and effectiveness in women's lives may mask the larger reality of the oppression of both men and women. Likewise, within complex societies such as the U.S., the roles of women who are also minorities and poor must be seen in the context of both social class and ethnicity. This is clearly illustrated by Stack's (1974) study of Black families in which kinship networks and other aspects of social organization are viewed as "adaptive strategies" shaped to a great extent by socioeconomic forces of the majority society; these survival strategies are not characterized by the nuclear family as primary domestic and economic unit, and women's lives and concerns are somewhat different from middle-class white women in the U.S.

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- 1980 Women and Colonization: Anthropological Perspective. Praeger Books.

Keesing, Roger

- 1981 Cultural Anthropology: A Contemporary Perspective. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Leacock, Eleanor

- 1975 Class, Commodity and the Status of Women. In Women Cross-Culturally: Change and Challenge, Ed. Ruby Rohrlich-Leavitt. The Hague: Mouton Publ.

- 1979 Women, Development and Anthropological Facts and Fictions. In The Politics of Anthropology, Eds. Gerrit Huizer and Bruce Mannheim. The Hague: Mouton Publ.

Stack, Carol

- 1974 All Our Kin: Strategies for Survival in a Black Community. New York: Harper and Row.

Women in Society and Culture: An Anthropological Perspective Course Outline

The primary objective of this course is to familiarize students with current anthropological--cross-cultural--perspectives on sexual differentiation in diverse societies. The central theme will be that approaches taken in the study of women, to be productive, must explore the relationship of women's roles to men's roles and explore the values and meanings given to these roles within these societies. The specific objectives are threefold:

- (1) to examine the presence and effect of biases in theoretical perspectives and in ethnographic reporting, both male bias and female bias
- (2) to acquire knowledge of the variability and flexibility of women and men's roles in different types of societies
- (3) to look at recent theoretical perspectives on the social and cultural factors that influence male-female role differentiation.

Assigned Books

- Rosaldo, Michelle and L. Lamphere, Eds.
1974 Women, Culture and Society. Stanford U. Press
(referred to as WCS).
- Lee, Richard
1979 The Kung San: Men, Women and Work in a Foraging Society. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Mead, Margaret
1935 Sex and Temperment in Three Primitive Societies. New York: Morrow.
- Siskind, Janet
1973 To Hunt in the Morning. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Fernea, Elizabeth Warnock
1965 Guests of the Sheik: An Ethnography of an Iraqi Village. Garden City, N.Y.

Topical Outline

1. Introduction: describing women and men in cultural

anthropology--ethnographic biases--primate social behavior studies

Margaret Mead: Sex and Temperment

WCS: Rosaldo and Lamphere, "Introduction"

2. Early theories of the origin and "nature" of social life--nineteenth century social darwinism--matriarchy--Engels

WCS: Bamberger, "Myth of Matriarchy: Why Men Rule in Primitive Society"

WCS: Sacks, "Engels Revisited: Women, the Organization of Production"

WCS: Rosaldo, "Women, Culture and Society: A Theoretical Overview"

3. Later theories--Malinowski and Briffault and matrilineal societies--Freud and Jung--culture and personality and Margaret Mead--structuralism--symbolic anthropology

WCS: Chodorow, "Family Structure and Feminine Personality"

WCS: O'Laughlin, "Mediation of Contradiction: Why Mbum Women Do Not Eat Chicken"

WCS: Denich, "Sex and Power in the Balkans"

4. Women and Men in Economic Production

Lee: The Kung San

(reserve) selected reading in Dahlberg, ed. Women the Gatherer; Lee and DeVore, eds. Man the Hunter

5. Social organization--kin and social networks, voluntary associations--male and female strategies

WCS: Sanday, "Female Status in the Public Domain"

WCS: Leis, "Women in Groups: Ijaw Women's Associations"

Skiskind: To Hunt in the Morning

6. Social organization--domestic vs. public: a false dichotomy?

WCS: Lamphere, Strategies, Cooperation, and Conflict Among Women in Domestic Groups

WCS: Stack, "Sex Roles and Survival Strategies in an Urban Black Community"

WCS: Paul, "The Mastery of Work and the Mystery of Sex in a Guatemalan Village"

7. Belief and symbolism--fertility and virility

WCS: Ortner, "Is Female to Male as Nature is to Culture?"

(reserve): Leach, "Animal Categories and Verbal Abuse?"

Fernea: Guests of the Sheik

8. Women in the Colonial and Post-Colonial World--feminist anthropology and the anthropology of feminism

(reserve) Leacock, "Women, Development and Anthropological Facts and Fictions, 1979, In The Politics of Anthropology, eds. G. Huizer and B. Mannheim. The Hague: Mouton Publ.

(reserve) Freeman, "The Women's Liberation Movement, in the United States," 1975, In R. Rohrich-Leavitt, ed. Women Cross-Culturally, The Hague: Mouton Publ.

Women's scholarship offers wide opportunities for unexplored areas of research in both traditional and non-traditional fields. Lee Furman and Arne Selbyg demonstrate this in the field of sociology and social work with their research on the study and treatment of rural alcoholic women. Historian Barbara Shaver's article on politics and the role of women in the Chilean revolution is one example of exploring the role of women in a particular historical situation.

THE SELF-ESTEEM OF RURAL ALCOHOLIC WOMEN; STUDY AND TREATMENT

Leola Furman and Arne Selbyg

Historically, women in America engaged in less social drinking than men. But when social constraints loosened, after World War II, women felt freer to drink alcoholic beverages when, where and however often they chose.¹ Although national incidence and prevalence studies to determine the exact scope of women alcoholics have not been conducted, estimates regarding the number of women addicted to alcohol continue to increase.² Nevertheless, pamphlets in the alcohol and drug fields continue to be male-oriented, sexist in nature and treat women as "footnotes."³

The woman who drinks too much is still an outcast, scorned and viewed as a "fallen woman."⁴ Often times her children are removed from her home as courts condemn her an unfit mother.⁵ While most wives of alcoholic men stay with their husbands, nine out of ten husbands leave their alcoholic wives before seeking help for her.⁶ Understanding family members and professionals could help the alcoholic woman battle her drinking problem, but as Susan B. Anthony, alcoholic and namesake of the famous suffragette said, "to be an alcoholic woman is to be the lowest of the low."⁷ Because of these attitudes and a lack of understanding of the alcoholic woman's special needs, recovery usually comes slowly or not at all.

To date little research has been conducted on the problems of the alcoholic woman and most of it is based on urban women.⁸ This study, however, was targeted specifically to a rural population; comparing the alcoholic and the non-alcoholic women's feelings of self-esteem and their satisfaction with interpersonal relationships.

Prior Research

While there is evidence that both male and female alcoholics suffer from a poorer self-image and lower self-esteem than do the non-alcoholic population, there is also evidence that alcoholic women suffer from even lower self-esteem than do alcoholic men.⁹

In a study conducted by Jessor, college students expressing a lower expectation of need satisfaction were more likely to have pathological drinking patterns. Conversely, the higher the need satisfaction, the higher the self-esteem and the less likely the individual was to have a drinking problem.¹⁰ Brehm and Back suggest that individuals with low self-esteem may become dependent upon drugs, with self-esteem acting directly as a determining factor in the abuse.¹¹ However, researchers are unsure if lowered need expectation and low self-esteem are causes or results of alcoholism.¹²

Studies indicate other personal problems are correlated with alcohol abuse: unsatisfactory interpersonal relationships, difficulties in handling frustrations, anxiety and depression, and inability to find satisfying options for meeting emotional and social needs.¹³

A number of factors interact: a vague sense of self; poor relationship to parents, children and spouse; uneven career development; unsatisfactory sexual adjustment; and inappropriate use of leisure time. These all challenge a woman's capacity to adapt and accept her continually evolving identity. William Fitts contends that esteem emanates from oneself only when the individual is meeting her physiological needs, protecting herself, loving herself and otherwise actualizing her own abilities.¹⁴ Further research shows that women drink in reaction to life crises, to relieve loneliness, low self-esteem and conflicts about their own role.¹⁵

Research has shown that many alcoholic women grow up in homes where the mother is domineering and emotionally distant and the father is passive, weak and pathological. This kind of family structure, where both parents deviate from typical sex role behavior, might cause the daughter to feel confused or conflicted about her own sex role, resulting later in problem drinking.¹⁶

Hypotheses

Based on the prior studies, the following hypotheses were developed:

1. Alcoholic women will have lower self-esteem than non-alcoholic women.
2. Alcoholic women will have a higher divorce rate and/or a poorer marital relationship than the non-alcoholic women.

3. Alcoholic women will have experienced less positive relationships with their parents than the non-alcoholic group.
4. Alcoholic women will experience less positive relationships with their offspring than the non-alcoholic group.

Methods

The study was funded by a faculty research grant from the University of North Dakota. All the subjects were members of rural populations. One hundred fifty-six female subjects were queried for this investigation. Of these, 34 were confessing or recovering alcoholics. Most of the confessing alcoholics were in treatment at the inpatient hospital unit of the United Hospital in Grand Forks, North Dakota or the Glenmore Foundation in Crookston, Minnesota. The remainder were members of a women's Alcoholic Anonymous group in Austin, Minnesota.

The control group was comprised of women who had attended workshops and lectures on Adult Developmental Stages which were given in North Dakota, Montana and Minnesota. The age distribution of the two groups was similar.

The respondents were asked questions about their personal characteristics and their marital, parental and offspring relationships and they responded to 18 different statements designed to measure their self-esteem. All the subjects voluntarily answered the questionnaire, which took about 30 minutes to complete.

For the purposes of the study, the definition of self-esteem given by Coopersmith was adopted:

The evaluation which the individual makes and customarily maintains with regard to himself; it expresses an attitude of approval or disapproval, and indicates the extent to which the individual believes himself to be capable, significant, successful and worthy. In short, self-esteem is . . . expressed in the attitudes the individual holds toward himself.¹⁷

Analysis and Findings

Through factor analysis and reliability analysis¹⁸ of

the responses to the 18 statements in the first part of the questionnaire, it was found that a highly reliable scale of the subjects' self-esteem could be based on their responses of agreement or disagreement with the following six statements: I take a positive attitude toward myself, I feel that I have a number of good qualities, On the whole I am satisfied with myself, I certainly feel useless at times, At times I think I am no good at all, and I wish I could have more respect for myself.¹⁹ If the subjects tended to strongly agree with the first three statements and strongly disagree with the last three, they were classified as having high self-esteem. If they only agreed with the first three and disagreed with the last three, they had average self-esteem. Those subjects who were undecided about themselves, agreed or strongly agreed with the last three, and disagreed or strongly disagreed with the first three statements were classified as having low self-esteem.

Table 1 shows that among the women who admitted to be alcoholics, there were not as many as in the control group who had high or average levels of self-esteem. But 29% of the alcoholic women scored low on the self-esteem scale, while only 20% of the control group had low self-esteem. This difference is not very large, but it still tends to support the first hypothesis.

Among the admitted alcoholics, 41% were divorced when they were interviewed, while 3% said they had been divorced and had remarried. Table 2 indicates that 24% of the alcoholics were in their first marriage. In the control group only 12% were divorced, 2% were divorcees who had remarried, while 54% were in their first marriage.

Nineteen of the alcoholic women talked about how well things were or had been between themselves and their husband. Table 3 shows that 37% of them said that things went well all or most of the time, while 42% said that happened only occasionally, rarely or never. In the control group on the other hand, 78 women talked about their relationship with their present or previous husband and 83% of them said that things went well all or most of the time, while only 8% said that happened only occasionally, rarely or never.

There was relatively little difference between the alcoholics and the control group in their evaluation of whether their husband could be described as warm, demanding or meddlesome. But Table 4 shows that much fewer of the alcoholic women would agree that their husband was or had been helpful, accepting of them, reasonable, faithful, tolerant, understanding, respectful of them, responsible, sensuous,

or loving. It is therefore quite clear that the second hypothesis is supported by these data.

There was less difference between the alcoholic women and the control group in their evaluation of their relationship with their parents, but it was still substantial. Table 3 shows that 43% of the alcoholics thought that things went well between them and their father all or most of the time, while 40% felt that happened only occasionally, rarely, or never. Fifty-nine percent felt that things went well between themselves and their mother all or most of the time, while 28% thought that happened occasionally, rarely or never. In the control group on the other hand, 73% thought that things generally went well between them and their father and 76% thought that happened all or most of the time between themselves and their mother. Table 5 shows that the main differences were that fewer of the female alcoholics would describe their father as warm, loving, understanding, accepting of them, or respectful of them, while more of the admitted alcoholics agreed that their father was meddlesome. There was also fewer among the admitted alcoholics than in the control group who would agree that their mother was warm or tolerant and, again, many more who found that meddlesome was an appropriate description. The third hypothesis is therefore also supported by these data.

Both among the admitted alcoholics and in the control group just over half the women in the sample had children, and in both groups about three-quarters of those who were mothers had three children or fewer. We had expected the relationship of the admitted alcoholics to their children to be poor, and worse than the control group. However, Table 5 shows that about 70% of the women who were admitted alcoholics, reported that things went well between themselves and their children, both old and young ones, all or most of the time. And the difference between them and the control group is not very large. The only major differences in their description of their children was that the alcoholic women more often than the control group found that their oldest child was tolerant of them, and their youngest child helpful, reasonable and understanding. These data suggest that alcoholic women tend to seek from their children the loving acceptance that is lacking in their relationships with their spouse and parents. Obviously, this places a heavy burden on children who are not prepared emotionally to provide adult companionship, consolation, understanding, and tolerance to their mother. They become a parent to their parent.

Treatment Implications

Recent research and literature has recommended that the treatment for alcoholism in women be tailored to the causes for her drinking. Therefore, since the alcoholic women in this study suffered from low self-esteem and dissatisfaction with their marital and parental relationships, treatment recommendations should emphasize remedial procedures for these particular problems.

The proposals that follow are based on Coopersmith's four factors for the development and improvement of self-esteem:

1. Increasing the amount of respectful, accepting and concerned treatment that an individual received from significant others in his life (including her therapist and spouse). In effect, we value ourselves as we are valued.
2. Building a history of successes. The status and position we hold in the world living up to areas that one regards as personally significant, such as evaluating how competent one is.
3. Having experiences that are modified and interpreted as being in agreement with the individual's values and aspirations, including how well they meet ethical or religious standards.
4. Improving the manner of responding to devaluations. Learning to minimize or suppress demeaning actions by others as well as failures on one's own part.²⁰

Physical Environment and Personal Appearance

For alcoholic women in treatment, pleasant surroundings, tastefully decorated, can boost self-esteem. And, although many modern professionals decry the emphasis and pressure on women to conform to societal pressures of attractiveness, good grooming can provide an emotional boost. The immediate period following detoxification is an especially important time for a woman to feel physically attractive. She should be encouraged, and have access to professional hair styling and makeup application. In a study on improving the self-concept of adolescent females, it was

found that sessions on makeup, hair styling, exercise and clothes and accessories, as well as posture and general demeanor, increased their self-acceptance and self-esteem scores.²¹

Adjunct Therapies and Survival Skills

Adjunct therapies to enhance self-acceptance would be involvement in such activities as music, dance, sports, exercise, drama or creative writing. Another useful adjunct therapy for the alcoholic woman is assertiveness training, as unexpressed anger and the resulting guilt can be factors in low self-esteem.

While in residential treatment, it is important to offer the alcoholic training in a variety of practical "survival skills," such as vocational training (many alcoholic women have few marketable skills); financial counseling; parenting skills and others. It is self-defeating to send a recovering alcoholic woman out into the world with new goals but no skills.

Spouse and Therapist in Building Self-Esteem

The interpersonal environment of an alcoholic woman may have even greater influence on her chances of recovery. Marital problems are often a consequence of alcoholism for men, but are seen as a cause of alcoholism for women.²² One hypothesis is that most alcoholic women have not devised a positive way of dealing with the devaluation from others, especially that from her spouse. Tamerin hypothesizes that a central issue in therapy with alcoholic women is unexpressed anger and resulting guilt towards a husband who is perceived as demanding, ungiving and a perfectionist.²³ Thus, whenever possible, the therapist should work with both the alcoholic woman and her spouse.

Often, a patient's relationship with her husband recreates an early relationship with her mother who she describes as cold, competent, critical and perfectionistic. This description of the alcoholic's mother agrees with the evidence in our study. The patient alternates between identifying with and attempting to meet the mother's high standards (compulsive perfectionistic behavior, coupled with chronic feelings of inadequacy and rage) and rebelling against these standards (e.g., drinking and being "out of control").

In the marital relationship, drinking helps the alcoholic wife express anger at her husband and simultaneously punish herself for feeling this anger. Therapeutic goals would include helping the patient to recognize and accept her anger and express it more appropriately, through assertiveness training and conjoint marital or family therapy. The latter is most often the treatment of choice. Family therapy may also serve as a primary and secondary prevention function for children in the family.

It has also been indicated that social and emotional support received early in treatment is critical to improvement.²⁴ One possibility is to assign the alcoholic woman to an accepting female therapist who has high self-esteem and can thus serve as a role model.

Children

Critically important to the successful prognosis for the alcoholic mother is for her children to have adequate care. This helps reduce the guilt she may feel about her child(ren). It also provides a good time to assess the emotional health of the children, to determine if they are experiencing emotional or behavioral problems. Coopersmith found that low self-esteem parents beget children with low self-esteem.²⁵

Alcoholism provides an appropriate reason to end the vicious cycle through treatment measures which enhance the self-esteem of these children. Coopersmith found that the antecedents of high self-esteem in children rests on three conditions: (1) Total or nearly total acceptance of the children by their parents, (2) clearly defined and enforced limits, which ultimately provide children a basis with which to evaluate their own performance, and (3) latitude for individual action which exists within these well-defined limits.²⁶

Work can be started with the mother in parenting classes to learn how to set and maintain limits as well as how to express love, affection and acceptance of her children.

One subgroup of alcoholic mothers in treatment who need special consideration is the AFDC mother (Aid to Families With Dependent Children). The fear alcoholic women have, whether justified or not, is that their children may be taken away if they are on AFDC and seek treatment.

To alleviate these fears, strong wording should be developed in the AFDC Manual. For example: "The child(ren) of a woman on AFDC receiving treatment in a residential facility for alcohol or drug abuse shall be temporarily housed with the advice and consent of the mother and shall continue to receive AFDC." No such child should be removed from the home of an alcoholic woman on the sole fact that she is an alcoholic. Rather, abuse or neglect of that child should be established before the child(ren) are removed. Hopefully, there will be provisions in treatment centers for alcoholic women to allow their children to live in a facility when a parent is living there and receiving services.

Role Models on Treatment Staff

Finally, it is of critical importance to have women on the treatment staff as role models for alcoholic women. Some programs have difficulty discussing sensitive issues (e.g., sexuality) in mixed groups--particularly if the group is predominantly male. However, some women alcoholics have issues to work out in relation to men. For these cases, mixed groups are preferable. One way to combine these ideas is to have an all-female group initially for the woman alcoholic in treatment which would give her support and then follow this with mixed group therapy.

Self-help groups for alcoholics include: Alcoholics Anonymous, Women for Sobriety, Parents without Partners, Parents Anonymous, church and church social groups. In rural areas, homemaker groups often take the place of nationally organized groups.

Summary

On the average, rural alcoholic women have lower self-esteem than non-alcoholic women. They also have a higher divorce rate, and perceive their relationship with their spouse, father and mother as poorer than non-alcoholic women do. On the other hand, they did not perceive their relationship with their children different than non-alcoholic women. Our findings indicate that one of the keys to treatment of alcoholism in both rural and urban women is building their self-esteem. Support therapy should attack the "ego-deflators" in their immediate family and social situation. In time, when our society contains more self-actualized women, the underlying social taboos that have historically bred weak, insecure women may also disappear. And with their disappearance may go a portion of the swollen ranks of today's alcoholic women.

FOONOTES

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Table 1. Level of Self-Esteem Among the Confessing Alcoholics and in the Control Groups.

Level of Self-Esteem	Alcoholics	Others
High	21%	25%
Average	50%	54%
Low	29%	20%
Sum	100%	100%
Number of Respondents	34	122

Table 2. The Respondents by Marital Status

Marital Status	Alcoholics	Others
Never Married	26%	27%
Married	24%	54%
Widowed	6%	4%
Divorced	41%	12%
Divorced-Remarried	3%	2%
Sum	100%	100%
Number of Respondents	34	122

Table 3. In general, how often do you think things are going well between you and your husband/father/mother?

How Often	Alcoholics and Husband/Father/Mother			Others and Husband/Father/Mother		
All or Most of Time	37%	43%	59%	83%	73%	76%
More Often than Most	21%	17%	13%	9%	13%	15%
Occasionally, Rarely or Never	42%	40%	28%	8%	14%	9%
Sum	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number	19	30	32	78	116	117

Table 4. The proportion of respondents who agreed or strongly agreed that certain terms described their husbands.

Would Describe Husband as	Alcoholics	Others
Warm	74	88
Helpful	79	96*
Demanding	40	33
Accepting of Me	61	92*
Reasonable	67	88*
Faithful	74	92*
Understanding	53	91*
Tolerant	47	86*
Embarrassing	25	12*
Loving	68	91*
Meddlesome	11	5
Sensuous	56	81*
Responsible	68	92*
Respectful of Me	68	95*

*The difference was significant at least at the 5% level using the five original response alternatives, and Pearson's χ^2 as the indicator.

Table 5. The proportion of respondents who agreed or strongly agreed that certain terms describe their father/mother.

Would Describe as	Father		Mother	
	Alcoholics	Others	Alcoholics	Others
Warm	45	75*	72	83*
Helpful	72	84	81	88
Strong	69	76	69	78
Embarrassing	13	19	13	13
Tolerant	48	61	52	70*
Loving	64	79*	81	85
Accepting of Me	61	75*	83	79
Reasonable	63	70	71	75
Medalesome	28	7*	41	20*
Respectful of Me	64	81*	69	81
Responsible	85	83	94	90
Understanding	52	72*	70	78

*The difference was significant at least at the 5% level using the original five response alternatives and Pearson's χ^2 as indicator

Table 6. In general, how often do you think things are going well between you and your oldest/youngest child?

How Often	Alcoholics and		Others and	
	Oldest	Youngest	Oldest	Youngest
All or Most of Time	71%	69%	81%	83%
More Often than Not	24%	19%	16%	13%
Occasionally, Rarely, Never	6%	13%	3%	4%
Sum	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number	17	16	68	54

POLITICS AND THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN CHILE

Barbara Shaver

The recent political history of Chile is tumultuous, and world interest has been piqued by the dramatic media coverage of the rise and fall of the first freely-elected Marxist government in history. The electoral success of the *Unidad Popular* cannot be explained without examining the social structure of Chile, because the need to establish a Marxist political/economic base grew out of the conditions dictated by the privilege and life style of the Chilean oligarchy. It was these features of life in Chile which drove the common people to seek answers suggested by leftist political ideologies. The role of the women of Chile, the real strength of Chilean society, is particularly important. From the beginning, the women of Chile opposed the establishment of a Marxist-Leninist government there, and they were paramount in bringing about its fall.

Chile is and always has been governed by an oligarchy which sets the standards for the nation. Where the traditional society came from is interesting, and in fact bears many parallels to the immigration patterns and aristocracy of the pre-Civil War South in the United States. This is a matter of curiosity for Americans, but what is more important is what it represented to the vast majority of Chileans. Members of the oligarchy insisted from the beginning and still believe today that one of the fundamental characteristics of Chilean society is equality of opportunity. Superficially this appears to be true, and constitutionally it is guaranteed. But actually the social structure has always been rigidly closed, and individual opportunity depends primarily on family connections rather than on talent, education, or personal effort.¹ In this way the upper class families have protected their status and controlled their society, and success inevitably awaits the infant who has the good fortune to be born into an establishment family. There are some very unusual cases where class mobility has been achieved through great personal capacity and effort, but those few are always cited as examples precisely because they are so exceptional. Virtually the only hope of moving up into the Chilean aristocracy is by marrying into it, and the opportunity to do so is very unusual. This pattern of inevitable opportunity for a few leaves the great majority of

Chilean people on the margin of society.

Unaware that a truly broad social democracy has never existed in their country, most upper-class Chilean families lived a fantasy life of grace and style long dead in Europe and the United States. The naïvete of the Chilean upper class can be partly explained by its virtual isolation from other social groups; upper class families were completely interdependent and segregated from outside intercourse. Wealth and position were tied to the ownership of landed estates known as *fundos* and a landowner normally had an elegant home on his country estate as well as a second residence in Santiago or in the provincial capital, or both, so that members of his family could enjoy the cultural activities and participate in the political and social life of Santiago. No expense was spared in bringing comfort and luxury to their lives: they built homes imitating the architectural vogues of the opulent European capitals, constructed them of imported materials, and furnished them like palaces with elegant furniture, excellent art, exotic crystals, glimmering silver, decorative porcelains, and rare carpets of exceptional quality.

The education of the privileged young men was directed toward eventual participation in the nation's political life; this was the best way a son could serve his country and enhance his family's reputation; among the establishment politics, a game of pressure and ambition, was the single route to family and personal prominence, power and influence. The children of the elite were all sent to the same prestigious schools in Santiago, where they grew up with companions whose parents were close friends of their own fathers and mothers. They intermarried within this same group, sometimes even choosing spouses from among their own cousins.

The women of the Chilean upper class were and are very protected by their families. Their chief responsibility to their parents is to enhance the status of their own family through a suitable and desirable marriage; having accomplished this they have an obligation to their husbands to produce a son to carry on the family name and tradition. They may spend the rest of their lives traveling in Europe, or the United States, acquiring elegant decorations for themselves or their various homes, overseeing the care of their children, and attending public or cultural events. If their arranged marriages do not turn out to be happy, divorce is not an option open to them or to any other women in Chile; divorce does not exist. They may inherit property, but as long as they have a father, brother, husband, or son, they may not control their own property except for their personal

possessions, such as jewelry and other personal items.

Because its style of life was luxurious did not mean the Chilean upper class was lazy or parasitic. Those families which became rich in Chile did so initially through hard work under difficult conditions in a land located on the frontier of the world. The small group of families which dominated national political and social development achieved its wealth and privileged position with great difficulty, and it is not surprising that their energies were concentrated toward preventing the erosion of their influence. Moreover, they sincerely believed that their background, education, and intellectual outlook imposed upon them the responsibility to lead their fellow citizens and to determine the direction of national development.

The middle class in Chile grew up as an urban phenomenon in the beginning; it appeared first in the capital, where it performed the administrative functions of a highly centralized government, and as the administrative structure increased the size of its bureaucracy gradually grew and it became highly specialized. The middle class keeps the country moving forward by administering routine government functions in Santiago, it provides the sole source of trained personnel for industry and commerce, and controls the social and administrative bureaucracies of the small urban centers removed from the capital. In the rural areas, families of the traditional upper class who had become impoverished for one of a variety of reasons such as economic inertia, or dilution of inheritance, but whose family names were prestigious and a part of local tradition, belonged to the middle class local society. Members of such families were often given administrative posts in the provincial government to enable them to eak out a living, contribute to and participate in the community, and educate their children. The prestige of their family name and/or their social connections generally enabled the sons and daughters to improve their financial situation by marrying into established families of greater wealth.

For the middle class women, routine was the chief characteristic of life. Women of provincial towns occupied themselves caring for their families and doing good work in the community, spending their days at home supervising the domestic employees who cared for their children, homes, and gardens. Usually they were active in the church, which depended on them for support in its principal community activity--the spiritual training of the people. They also helped to care for the ill and unfortunate of the town, visiting hospitals, private homes of the aged, and orphanages.

Their social life revolved around the Church, political activities, the local military regiment, and sports, particularly tennis and soccer.

The middle class women are interested principally in social and cultural problems rather than political concerns, and where they are interested in politics they concentrate on education and welfare. Their self-esteem is high and their influence permeates the other social classes in Chile, although they have some very serious needs in the areas of equal rights, health, education, and intellectual opportunity. Their homes and clothing, and that of their families, are inevitably well-ordered and well cared for; they are very conformist in lifestyle.

There are more contradictions than similarities among middle class women in Chile. Their style dominates, but their numbers are small, they are apparently homogeneous but actually heterogeneous in thought, without any real political control but dictating the ideals of values and public life. **The middle class has little self-understanding.**

While the upper class women in Chile live a life relatively free from the threat of significant changes, and those of the middle class work hard within the social structure of their communities, by far the largest number live lives of frustration, poverty, and even hopelessness; their style of life could hardly be a greater contrast to that of the upper and upper middle class Chileans. Families in the poor classes of Chile are usually extra-legal associations, and the stability of their status is fragile. The family unit owns few possessions: perhaps a handmade bed, table, and chairs enough for the adults, never the home its members occupy nor the land they work. An exceptionally prosperous poor family might own a horse which served as transport, or, rarely, a pig or a turkey. Clothing is basic.

The choices of the poor young women are incredibly limited. Lower-class men rarely have a stable economic situation, and they usually avoid the responsibility of a family by declining to legalize their cohabitation. Commonly lower-class men abandon their pregnant girlfriends. Often women must care for and nourish several children while at the same time they attempt to hold jobs clerking in shops or working in factories; they must send their children to work as soon as possible. Many poor mothers and children are unable to find any way at all to earn money, and in desperation turn to petty crime to escape hunger. The most common possibility for a lower-class woman without children is to work as a maid or some other type of domestic employee; the pretty

and lucky ones among these sometimes marry, but it is more common for them to become pregnant by their "patron" or a neighbor, after which they are forced to abandon their jobs. While their children are small, the only way a mother can provide for them is to live with someone who is willing to support them. But usually the poor woman became pregnant again and faced the likelihood of abandonment a second time. It is not uncommon for a poor young woman to drift from man to man until she might have as many as ten children with different fathers. Her opportunity to earn a living diminishes with the birth of each succeeding child, until the only work available is as a laundress or seamstress in a private home, or wandering the streets selling bread or other goods prepared in her home. If a lower-class woman sought work in a large city far from her home, the lack of jobs for women, even those who were well-educated, generally ended in failure and she often turned to prostitution. Here too she usually found herself saddled with a number of children whose care was neglected while she earned money for their support. It is no wonder that the incidence of alcoholism among the poor women is high, and this is true among the children and the men, too. In fact, the women and children often suffered violence at the hands of their drunken husband and father, who, upon returning from work at the end of the day, sometimes beat his wife and raped his daughters.

The Marxist government in Chile dealt little with changes in the social status of women, although some efforts were made and a few small successes occurred. For example, legislation was introduced which would have legalized divorce; this was very popular in some sectors because it would have legitimized legal separation which was regularly occurring anyway through the practice of annulling large numbers of marriages. However, the proposed legislation never passed through Congress before the government fell. Administration officials did take steps to change the practice of recording illegitimate births on pink certificates to distinguish them from legitimate births which were recorded on white certificates.² As most of the children born to mothers in the lower class were illegitimate, this policy had wide popular appeal among the masses. Where the administration lost the support of the women was most evident in its economic policy, and it was this loss of support which brought the government down.

The administration's most important goal was a redistribution of national wealth. The president hoped he could accomplish this by increasing the quantity of material goods and services for consumption, without at the same time decreasing the rate of inflation. His economic objectives did

revolutionize the life style of virtually all Chileans, but not quite in the way he had expected. Construction was channeled into social service areas, which resulted in a decrease in luxury condominiums in the cities and beach resorts, and the transportation industry began to disintegrate when new vehicles and spare parts were no longer imported. Industries owned by wealthy Chileans were nationalized, together with those owned by foreigners. Quite soon every consumer in Chile began to be affected. Until 1971 Chile had always had an abundance of luxury goods for sale; store windows were filled with displays of elegant clothes, fine cosmetics, jewelry, sporting equipment, and cameras, at prices prohibitive for virtually all the Chilean people. When the Marxists came to power, they transfused consumer purchasing power through an expansion of the money supply. Many could buy things they had always longed to have. A frenzied spending spree occurred, and this provided an emotional escape which masked any misgivings which might have begun to occur. Suddenly middle class families could afford to buy a television set, a bicycle, or a refrigerator, and the poor could afford such former luxuries as milk, meat, chickens, or shoes for the children. Prices of essential goods such as basic foodstuffs, soap products, gasoline, oil, and drugs and medicines were fixed by the government at prices so low that anyone could afford them.

What happened was predictable. Soon demand for most products jumped drastically. Temporary shortages began to occur, and the government responded by attempting to dampen and reorient the demand it had stimulated. In an effort to cut down meat consumption, sales were limited first to certain days of the week and later to certain weeks of the month, and at other times it was not available in stores and could not be served in restaurants.³

Within a year the lack of food was apparent across the country, and with the approach of the holiday season it became dramatic; the great preoccupation of all Chilean women became the search for food. Any housewife who could afford to began hoarding truckloads of canned goods and staples, and this behavior compounded the problem of shortages. Gradually a whole series of essential products vanished, including powdered milk, baby food, good wine, sugar, canned vegetables, matches, butter, cooking oil, tobacco, soft drinks, antibiotics, soap and detergents, rice, nails, cement, tooth paste, and shampoo were among these. By early 1973 the markets displayed row upon row of plastic wares, scouring pads, candy, olives, fresh fruits and vegetables in season, and a little cheese made from potatoes. The sudden appearance of an essential item interrupted schedules of all kinds of

people. College professors abandoned their classes to wait in line where powdered milk was being sold in limited quantities. Business closed while all the employees chased down a rumor that toilet paper was for sale in a drug store. The women particularly suffered from the lack of toilet paper; it led to a virtual epidemic of vaginal infections because women used old newspapers instead. Banks were virtually abandoned by their employees when it was rumored that detergent was available. Soon one's entire life was devoted to a search for food and other essential products, and the burden for coping with this fell on the women of Chile. It was their responsibility to find whatever was needed for the health and welfare of the family unit.

The psychological aspects of the increasing shortages and their effect on the women of Chile are interesting. It is curious to speculate whether or not the government might have fallen if it had adopted as first priority the fulfillment of the nation's psychological needs. The men expected to have meat and chicken available in addition to seafood, and a full variety of fruits, vegetables, staples, and wine from which to choose, and they looked to the women to provide it. The women had always had these things available and had managed to cope in spite of high prices and other difficulties. When scarcities arose the women felt these were a consequence of government policy, and when they felt the wrath of their husbands because things were not available they blamed the government in turn. Chileans had always gone to see the latest movies, and when these were no longer available the level of discontent grew. When there was no longer hair dye, and Chilean women had to reveal the natural color of their hair, they were even unhappier.

The panic created by disappearing products began to produce an interesting reaction in which women began to buy whatever they could, even if it was something they didn't need and couldn't use. It could always be resold to someone else who did need it and could use it. The government refused to raise prices in order to stifle demand, because it was dedicated to providing above all for the masses who had never had the opportunity to choose to buy the things which had been available to the middle and upper classes. Even when it became necessary to begin importing beef and flour from Argentina and chicken from the United States to feed the people, the prices at which these items were offered to the purchasing public remained very low.

The disappearance of food and commodities, together with the increasing supply of money available to all led inevitably to a black market. More important than the fall

in food production or in industrial output, the black market drove supplies underground. People who could afford to do so began hoarding, and a vicious circle was initiated. A butcher could sell meat at a far greater profit by simply sending some to his favored customers under cover of darkness and charging them ten times the official price than to sell to the general public at the prices fixed by the government guidelines. Women began buying whatever they could find and paying any price that was asked. An underground network sprang to life. Women informed their friends of black market sources, and business acquaintances offered contracts for the sale of, for example, 100-kilo sacks of rice at several times the official price. The scarcer things became, the more people scrambled to buy whatever they could find. As the situation worsened the black market led control of consumption in Chile back again to the hands of the rich, from whom the government had pledged to wrest it.

As time wore on, scarcities became greater and more frequent, and the women of Chile began to experiment with possible solutions. "*Colas*" began to appear--a "*cola*" was a long line of waiting people which appeared suddenly or was present perpetually, often for hours or even all day and night. The women waited in lines to buy some scarce commodity that was on limited sale, or even to buy something that was rumored to be available, or even possibly available at a certain location. Women were forced to wait hours for the possible chance to buy a tube of toothpaste or a box of detergent or a roll of toilet paper. Whatever the product, women stood, sat, or even slept in line for hours to buy their one tube or box or roll or something scarce. Passers-by usually inquired what was being sold and took their own places in line to buy some, or often joined the line without knowing really what it was they were waiting to buy, for if it was something they personally did not need it was certainly something that could be sold to a friend, often at a profit. In the beginning, when "*colas*" first began to appear, they were friendly and companionable, and the women did not have to wait in them long. As they began to consume more and more hours of the day, the women began to bring games, such as checkers or chess, to play until they had reached the head of the line. The "*colas*" became social centers, where women gossiped and knitted (until the country ran out of yarn), places where maids rendezvoused with their boyfriends, and where students studied. Young children were enlisted to wait a time so that their busy mothers could do other things with their time, or wait in another line to buy something else, or so the family could acquire two or more of the item for sale. A lucrative occupation developed, in which people who were unemployed or who had nothing more

urgent to do stood and waited in lines until their location was quite close to the front, whereupon they sold their places to someone else who did not have the time to spend waiting but who did have the money to buy the spot, whereupon the "waiter" returned to the end of the line and waited some more until he or she had reached a saleable location again. This was a lucrative occupation for students. Occasionally the police had to be summoned to break up a protesting mob which threatened to storm a business if its supply of the precious item was exhausted quite soon, or if the line was still quite long. As the Marxist government entered its third year the "colas" became longer and more common, and some businesses such as dairies and bakeries which produced the most basic necessities of life and were in constant demand had perpetual "colas." And as the months passed the friendly atmosphere of the "cola" became one of endurance, until finally they became hostile.

The women of Chile took to the streets to protest against the political and economic condition of the country beginning on December 1, 1971. On that day the famous "*Marcha de las Cacerolas Vacias*" occurred in the capital and throughout the country, in which the women marched into the streets at night, banging on their pots and pans in protest against the food shortages, already widespread only one year into the administration's 6-year term. The president scoffed at the idea that the women had any political power, or that they presented the slightest problem to the government; he preferred to view the demonstration as "an expression of protest of vacant pots and pans by those who had never known a lack of food in their lives, who arrived at the scene of the demonstration in powerful vehicles, the majority young people who lived off their families, who had never worked an hour in their lives for anyone, and young girls who had never washed a pot or pan."⁴

The president did have a point: it was the women who had the most who complained the loudest. But the majority of the women who protested were middle class housewives who were indeed suffering economic strangulation as a consequence of government measures. And his efforts to win their support came under criticism as well, as he was attacked by men who accused him of trying to attract votes from the women. The secret of the strength of opposition to him from the women can be found in the women's organizations which they controlled, chiefly the *Juntas de Vecinos* (Neighborhood Groups) and *Centros de Madres* (Mothers' Centers), which were social and economic, but also highly political action units.

The *Marcha de las Cacerolas Vacias* was the strongest

moral strike against the government during the entire three years of its duration, and the government responded in a move that drew widespread and very bad publicity. Brigades created to "defend the revolution" were launched by the government against the women of Chile, attacking them with chains, sticks, and other forceful acts of machismo. The shock which this publicity provoked forced the government into a defensive position for the first time since it had come to power.

With the first of the protests against the government by the women of Chile, the lines of battle were drawn for the remaining months it held power. Several weeks after the *Marcha de las Cacerolas* the government decided to make use of neighborhood block groups to organize the problems of distribution and supply. Organizations known as *Juntas de Abastacimiento y Precio* were given the responsibility for ensuring that every neighborhood and family in Chile received an assortment of food. In areas where supply and distribution had disintegrated virtually into chaos, the JAP were extremely popular for a brief time, because they provided some order, but where shortages were less severe they were often resented by the housewives who believed they interfered with normal shopping habits and diverted even the few supplies which did remain. Within six months of assuming this responsibility there were 450 JAPs in the capital alone; these controlled the consumption of one hundred thousand families and about six hundred thousand people. Within three months twenty percent of national consumption was already passing through their hands. The activities and control of each individual JAP varied greatly, and depended principally on the nature of the community each represented, but they were particularly active in the lower and lower middle class areas where people had few other alternatives.

The government was so impressed with the success of the JAP that they soon were absorbed into the official structure of administration in order to infuse them with new authority and to take advantage of their success in dealing with the very real problem of shortages. Government leaders defined the JAP as groups interested in the struggle to improve conditions of life within each community by ensuring an adequate supply of goods and establishing fair prices for them. The responsibility for establishing fair prices added a whole new dimension to the groups, and as supplies grew more scarce and demand increased they became more and more powerful. Soon the government was encouraging them to call attention to and denounce unscrupulous intermediaries and government inspectors who failed to fulfill their function correctly, and they were enlisted to cooperate in the

maintenance of price controls by daily vigilance of the various commercial establishments and turning in merchants guilty of infractions to government authorities.

Government efforts to overcome the supply problem were wiped out about ten months later when the truckers struck. As supplies stopped moving prices soared out of control and the black market locked on to virtually all the consumer goods remaining. Hopes of elevating the buying power of the masses were dashed. Some economic consequences of the strike, including the failure to distribute seeds throughout the various agricultural sectors just at the moment planting season began virtually destroyed all efforts to feed the country.

Finally the government was forced to acknowledge that the problem of supply was out of control, and assigned to the women and men of each JAP the responsibility for ensuring that every family in Chile received a portion of the available basic commodities according to its needs. This was called "cooperative distribution," and the government hoped it would eliminate the "colas" and strike a death blow to the black market by ensuring a proportion of all the nation's supply to everyone at official prices. In order to accomplish this, the JAP took inventory of the composition of every neighborhood in Chile. An identification card was issued to each family describing its characteristics and consumption needs, and a member of the family had to present this card when shopping at the commercial establishment the family was assigned to.

How this system worked is evident by looking at the example of the JAP of Neighborhood Group 34 of the area known as the *Población Jaime Eyzaguirre* in the community of Nuñoa near the capital. During 1972 the area had experienced cases of clandestine sales of basic necessities and the existence of a black market in various products including flour, rice, chickens, and meat. The neighborhood had thirty commercial establishments to serve its 18,000 people. The cooperative distribution scheme brought each of the two butchers in the area two cows per week and 800 chickens per month. Imported products such as flour and coffee were sold once a month, while oil, sugar, rice, pasta, soap and detergents, butter, toilet paper, and other goods were sold every week to the residents registered with the JAP. These allotments to each family were known as the *Canasta Popular*, or family basket.

The family baskets did not eliminate the black market in meat and produce, but it did succeed in directing some of its profits into the hands of the poor. Any family had

the option of reselling its meat or chicken or allotment of any other product to another person for a much higher price than he had paid for it. The black market continued to exist, but the family basket diverted its profits to the masses, not the businessman.

There was one chance more for the women to speak against the government, and that came during the by-elections of March 1973. It was very clear that the victory which gave Congress to the president's political opponents was strongly supported by the women of Chile. Social class is an influential factor in Chilean voting patterns, but age and sex are even more important. It is very easy to determine voting patterns by sex, for in Chile women vote separately from men. Chilean women are somewhat more conservative than men, and they have a strong loyalty to candidates of the right center. This surely reflects a strong influence from the Catholic Church, and it is to some extent a guarantee against radical social change. Since they are strongly oriented to their homes, they resist Marxist and other liberal ideas. They were the president's strongest opposition in 1973, as they had been in 1970. And it was chiefly through their influence, their rage over the indignities they had suffered and the handicaps that had been placed before them by this government, that political opinion was aroused and the military acted. On September 11, 1973 the government fell from power in violence.

FOOTNOTES

1. Professional connections could also be useful, but in most cases these were the same as family connections.
2. A policy which was changed back again after the military revolution occurred.
3. Restricting the sale of perishable goods effectively diminishes their consumption in Chile. Household refrigeration is not common except among the upper classes, and the Chilean housewife is accustomed to shop daily for the food she will prepare.
4. Salvador Allende, remarks reported in the press of Chile on December 3, 1971.

D. H. Khactu has chosen to explore and ponder the future of women's studies in his essay on "Women's Studies: Its Problems and Impact on the Campus and Professional Associations."

WOMEN'S STUDIES: ITS PROBLEM AND IMPACT ON
THE CAMPUS, AND THE PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

D. N. Khactu

After a decade of inaction, widespread preoccupation with the position of women in American society re-emerged strongly during the 1960s. Since then, women's attempt to achieve equality with men has progressed unevenly in a number of areas, and it has been attended by varying degrees of resistance on the part of the society at large.¹ This upsurge of concern and action, commonly referred to as Women's Liberation, raised crucial issues about the role and place of women in the American society and inevitably created an impact on the college women. Seeing education as one of the principal channels through which they can achieve a new role in our society, young women have begun enrolling in institutions of higher learning in unprecedented numbers. By 1978 for example, women constituted already more than half of the entering freshman class in the post-secondary institutions in the United States.² Not only have women increasingly been enrolling in universities and colleges, they have also begun to challenge the nature of the existing education, its content and process in terms of its relevance to their lives. They set out to question the extent to which the current educational system aids them in acquiring what is necessary for them to assume a truly equal role in the American society.

Institutions of higher learning frequently, if not always, mirror the attitudes of the general society toward women and, despite stated goals to the contrary, at times inadvertently reinforce many of these attitudes. But American colleges and universities have responded to the challenge of the women's movement with what is probably one of the most interesting developments in their long history: the creation of Women's Studies courses and programs on the campuses throughout the nation. Several colleges and universities preferred to add special courses to already established departments; others have initiated a new major in Women's Studies.³ These Women's Studies courses, originally introduced as an intellectual challenge to the way many disciplines traditionally have been taught, or as a means of correcting their bias and deficiencies regarding women, and as a mode of presenting alternative information about women not otherwise readily available, have grown enormously in

number in this past decade. The particular method of incorporating these women's studies in the university's curriculum appears much less important than the recognition that women have assayed and succeeded in a variety of roles, many of which call for traits and talents quite different from the stereotyped "feminine" attributes.

In this paper, the main focus concerns the problem and impact of the Women's Studies program on the campus and on the traditional disciplines. Of course, I realize that there are other dimensions of Women's Studies to be explored, and the need for their inquiry is no less pressing as the one under our present undertaking. For instance, in my search of the various data banks and journal articles, I was unable to locate any study at community and junior college levels of what effects Women's Studies courses may have on the lives of students who take them. Of particular interest in evaluating the usefulness of women's studies in those institutions would be an investigation of possible differences in the impact of these courses on different groups of women students, and because all Women's Studies courses or modes of teaching are not necessarily the same, of possible differences stemming from different types of courses and styles of instruction. It seems also extremely important to examine the degree of relationship between participation into Women's Studies courses and some specific criteria, e.g., success in non-traditional occupational training programs, grades, transfers to another institution, etc. Research is also needed on why women (or men) take Women's Studies courses and whether their expectations are adequately fulfilled. Although perhaps more important to the general issue of educational and social equity for women than to the specific one of Women's Studies in the college, is another issue which could be mentioned here--the need for help at the local level in resolving the conflicting and often contradictory regulations regarding state assistance for women who are attending colleges and universities. Another important direction for research on women's studies is toward defining the needs for Women's Studies programs and of those who teach these Women's Studies courses. Such a study, or series of studies, must include obviously as broad a sample of the colleges as possible. Also of special significance is the selection of sequence of evaluation models that are used for Women's Studies programs. How such a research is done will certainly affect our profound understanding of the function of Women's Studies on campus, and the extent to which they will find future support.

The above observations serve a useful purpose of delimiting clearly the research at hand in this paper. The

present study prefers to restrict itself to examine two basic aspects of Women's Studies at colleges and universities; (a) growth and development of Women's Studies programs on campus, and (b) their impact on the traditional disciplines and professional associations. It begins with a brief clarification of the subject matter, i.e., defining properly various terms such as Women's Programs, Women's Studies Programs or courses about women. Next, it traces the growth process of Women's Studies programs on campus, their problems and success, etc. Third, an analysis of the possible effect of these Women's Studies programs on other traditional disciplines and professional associations outside the narrow confines of the institutions of higher learning. Finally, the last section closes this paper with a discussion of some of the implications of the development of women's studies programs and its future course and the apparent juxtaposition between feminism and the academy.

Some Definition and Review of Literature

Currently, over 330 college campuses report Women's Studies programs⁴ and several thousands of Women's Studies courses are being taught in more than 1,200 community and junior colleges in the United States. Although these courses are born at the beginning simply as a means of correcting the deficiencies of the traditional curriculum, there seems an increasing body of evidence showing that they do considerably more than just this. Research studies investigating different aspects of the women's colleges and their graduates provide a glimpse of what women students can become if certain environmental factors occur. The importance of the number of Women's Studies courses and women faculty in relation to curriculum and total faculty population emerges and reemerges as a major variable in determining which students subsequently become achievers in our society.⁵ Helping women to understand the historical, economic and social determinants of their present condition enables them to acquire a new perspective on themselves and other women and men as well, and appears to generate a profound change in their environment and to have had extensive, beneficial impact on many aspects of their own lives. How these Women's Studies courses affect the students who take them? This question has been discussed extensively in several past researches.⁶ For purposes of the present paper, it suffices to report the evidence which points out that Women's Studies can be expected to function as an important change agent in the lives of both women and men taking these courses. Thus, women's studies can be seen simultaneously as an "effect" of the women's liberation movement and also

as a "cause" of its immediate and future impact on American women.

To determine what is presently known about Women's Studies courses and programs, one must be interested in learning what data are available concerning enrollments; type and extent of distribution of Women's Studies courses; what work has been done to assess their impact on students, etc. (sources of information are figured in the reference list). A review of these sources made it apparent that it is necessary to set a clear distinction between women's programs, women's re-entry programs, women's studies programs, and women's studies courses or courses about women. Various authors offered their own definition,⁷ but I prefer to rely on those clarifications which have emerged from the usage of researchers and practitioners in this particular area.

Women's programs are any service provided for women students, e.g., courses, centers, and other support services and programs. Another related term is women's re-entry programs. This refers to those specific activities which are instituted by some schools for the expressed purpose of assisting women who are returning on the campus either to continue further their education or to enter or re-enter the job market after a prolonged hiatus.⁸ Re-entry programs usually encompass such services as counseling and referral, coping skills and testing, support groups, modified institutional requirements or educational method, as well as such specialized services as child care, remedial instruction, job placement.⁹

The term "Women's Studies Programs" carries two connotations. It is used sometimes to refer to a group of courses that include both academic credit classes and non-credit classes focusing on the development of particular skills or aiming at the provision of special services to women. At other times, it covers a sequence of credit bearing academic courses. The latter is more frequently used.

Women's Studies Programs must be distinguished from individual Women's Studies courses. Women's Studies courses can be found on most of the nation's 3,000 campuses. "Women's Studies course" means credit-bearing classroom offerings in one or more disciplines taught from a feminist perspective,¹⁰ e.g., History of Women, Women in Cross-Cultural Perspective, Psychology of Women, etc. It includes on occasion classroom offerings in various skills or services designed especially for women, e.g., self-defense courses, job interview seminars, peer-counseling, etc. The former is the more frequent usage, and it is the one that is discussed in

this paper.¹¹ In general, Women's Studies programs have developed along somewhat similar lines. In organizational structure, these programs have not become autonomous departments--with a few exceptions. Usually, they have remained rather "networks" involving faculty whose academic roots are in the traditional departments. Most often the Women's Studies sequence begins with an interdisciplinary course. Whether a Women's Studies program offers an independent (such as at the University of Minnesota) or coordinate major, a minor, a certificate, what distinguishes a program from an isolated course or even a group of courses is the effort to develop a somewhat structured and organized academic experience for the students in Women's Studies. On the other hand, Women's Studies programs often maintain close working relationship with and indeed sometimes encompass women's centers on campus, and women's projects off-campus, e.g., homes for battered women, rape crisis hotlines, assertiveness courses, etc. In short, a serious dimension of Women's Studies programs is a female-concerned and female-defined culture on campus. However, the core of Women's Studies remains basically curricular. The key step in program development of Women's Studies on a particular campus is the admission into the university catalog of distinctive Women's Studies courses. Curriculum development in Women's Studies has been in the past decade a major form of scholarship, since course models and standard texts did not exist before 1969.

One further problem of clarification: Are all courses about women grouped under the classification of "Women's Studies Courses"? In practice, most Women's Studies program committees or coordinators have the power to approve or reject particular courses for inclusion under the Women's Studies rubric.¹² Distinctions are sometimes drawn through the listing of some courses as an addendum to those formally designated as part of the regular women's studies program.

Impact of Women's Studies Program on the Campus

Before turning to the specifics of assessing the impact of Women's Studies programs on the campus, it may be useful and also proper to examine the changing historical context of evaluation in higher education in the recent years.

In the 1960s, normative evaluation approach is greatly emphasized. The contemporary practice of evaluating institutions or programs is to set up such criteria as whether or in what degree an institution or a specific program has

"measured up" to appropriate collegiate norms.¹³ The function of accreditation is then to establish and define some appropriate criteria and to apply these criteria to the individual institutions or programs subject to evaluation. A major need appears to be the development of more objective techniques in evaluation and of norms of performance for the interpretation of findings. As the "dimensions of quality to be evaluated," one would pose the following questions:

Is a Women's Studies program to be judged by the caliber of students which it enrolls? By changes--intellectual, personal, attitudinal--produced in students? By the quality of its teaching? By the number of Ph.D's on the staff? By the number of books and articles its faculty has published? By the size of its endowment funds? The problem lies in measuring and weighing these questions. Seen in the light of twenty years of change in post-secondary education and in the newness of the Women's Studies program, the normative approach to evaluation appears certainly antiquated. The dimensions used in the process of evaluation are hardly of equal value. Such criteria as "age and traditions, size of its endowment funds" cannot be readily applied to the Women's Studies program which just begun to burgeon through the late sixties into universities and colleges. Unless one could provide as many norms as one has a variety of institutions or programs, the idea of "measuring up" might not be helpful to the achievement of educational progress and excellence.

In the 1970s where Women's Studies programs had some influence on several campuses, the idea of evaluation of institutions or programs shifted rapidly toward a new direction, the formative evaluation approach. Institutional accreditation now assumes two purposes: (a) to provide a means for members of the higher education community to hold an institution accountable to its own stated objectives; and (b) to improve the educational processes and institutions.¹⁴ With this new approach, rating institutions or programs against some set of generalized norms has been replaced by a process of matching performance to distinctive institutional objectives. Thus, the major goal of evaluation has transubstantiated, at least in theory, from normative rating to the development of indicators of program improvement. This shift is reflected in the few theoretical models that are designed for the expressed purpose of evaluating Women's Studies programs that began to appear in the mid-seventies.¹⁵ According to the formative evaluation approach, one should judge a Women's Studies program by focusing on the nature, impact, and improvement of courses, not on their supposed success or failure as measured against a set of preconcerned norms. The primary audience for such an evaluation must

be the students and teachers themselves, who need the information to improve their own teaching and learning.

Although this formative evaluation is clearly more helpful and more applicable to the evaluation of Women's Studies programs, normative evaluation still remains today a significant element of current evaluation studies on the campuses. Such criteria as faculty publications, the development of new courses, the granting of advanced degrees, and the rating of students still play a significant role in the evaluation process of any program on campus.

Recently, and in most institutions of higher learning, the dominant dimension in the evaluation process has become what is known as "productivity." In higher education terms, this means reaching the largest number of students at the lowest possible cost. Productivity constitutes the higher education's version of the managerial revolution that does not readily make a priori judgment about the importance or worth of a product or program, but that considers whether it sells, and seeks standardized, objective measures for assessing not merely sales volume but cost-benefit ratio also. Thus, the key question lies not in the value of the Women's Studies program, but rather in the willingness and enthusiastic acceptance of the students to register for its courses. It is against this historical background of evaluation of institutions of higher learning that we are now proceeding to the analysis of the impact of the Women's Studies program in the following section.

One of the highly visible index of success of any new program on the campus such as Black Studies, American Indian Studies would be its level of organizational structure, growth and legitimacy. Most Women's Studies programs in the 1960s and early 1970s began as a loose collection of courses offered in a variety of departments, with the intent of supplementing the male-centered curriculum rather than organizing an alternative to it. Florence Howe's 1977 study shows that:

1. Only a few programs begun in the early seventies offered a curriculum designed for majors and, for the most part, the bachelor's degree was granted as part of a university-wide effort.
2. In the early 1970s, and especially in the state of California, many programs offered Women's Studies as minors.
3. Structured and well-defined curriculum for majors

and minors in Women's Studies began only in 1976.¹⁶

Until very recently, some new programs such as the one at Case-Western Reserve University in Cleveland, Ohio, start to offer bachelor's, master's and doctoral degrees in Women's Studies under the wing of the American Studies department.

In general, the dominant model of organization among Women's Studies programs may be described as "interdepartmental." Their goals cover a dual purpose: (1) to draw in to their centers, courses, research activities, students, faculty, and members of the local community, (b) to move¹⁷ outward to affect other areas of the university as well. Thus, the internal structure of most women's studies programs must remain somewhat fluid and highly flexible--a decentralized network rather than a traditional well-structured bureaucracy. In her study of 173 women's studies programs, Donna J. Wood (1978) at Vanderbilt University¹⁸ offers these common structural characteristics:

- (a) Most Women's Studies programs either co-ordinate courses which are already offered in other departments, or offer some of their own as well.
- (b) Most of the programs offer a minor in Women's Studies.
- (c) A substantial number of programs provide an independent major in Women's Studies.
- (d) Almost half of these programs being surveyed offer services beyond coursework, counseling and community activities.

Wood reveals further an interesting observation that simply discredits a popular belief commonly held among educators. Her study shows very little relationship that may exist between growth and success of Women's Studies programs on the campus on one side, and large size of enrollment or endowment and the public (as opposed to sectarian) character of the given institution. Also, institutions with Women's Studies programs are more likely located in those institutions having relatively few women on the faculty than in those with a higher proportion of women faculty. This is perhaps because, in the former, the few women faculty are able to find each other and to work closely together. It may be also that the latter are very often sectarian institutions.

In the recent years, several Women's Studies programs have finally reached a level of legitimacy on campus. One of such programs is offered by the Minneapolis campus of the University of Minnesota. It began modestly in 1973 as an "experimental" program. But by 1975, so much progress had been achieved that a bachelor's degree was officially instituted. In 1978, the program was subject to an intensive review--both internal and external--concerning its goals, objectives, curriculum, instruction, budget, faculty, students, community services and outreach. Both independent inside and outside review committees followed a mixed model of evaluation that includes together formative and normative guidelines; they ended up with the following conclusions:

- (a) Legitimacy of the emergence of the Women's Studies program at Minnesota as a separate and independent field of study.
- (b) Call for a status of permanence.
- (c) Suggestion for an independent, permanent governance and structure determined by the faculty of the Women's Studies program.
- (d) Recommendation for a fuller curriculum of the bachelor's program and movement toward a graduate component in women's studies.¹⁹

Another means of gauging the impact of the Women's Studies program on the campus lies in the examination of the attitude of students, faculty and administrators vis-a-vis its existence. A study by DeBiasi and Rhodes (1979) shows that a large majority of the campus was aware of the program's existence. Slightly less than half of total faculty and administrators were relatively unaware of the program's goals and responsibilities. A strong majority of the campus expressed unqualified support for the Women's Studies program and thought this was a valid field of study for an institution of higher learning. About one-fourth of the faculty expressed serious interest in the Women's Studies and did advise students to enroll in these courses.²⁰ Nearly all students thought that they should be informed by their advisors about the existence of Women's Studies courses and that separate Women's Studies courses would continue to be needed on the campus even if Women's Studies materials were already absorbed into other traditional departments.

The most important factor promoting the incorporation of materials on women relates to the existence of courses

on women within a specific department and, especially, to the presence of women faculty.²¹ But little or no relationship can be found between the growth of Women's Studies programs and the presence of women faculty on the same campus. The popular contention that women faculty constitutes the cruciable variable for the incorporation of materials on women flows from the opinions of departmental heads and women faculty themselves. Statistical evidence, however, does not support such a contention, and one cannot unquestioningly accept the testimony of those most directly advantaged by such a conclusion. While no one would question the importance of the presence of the female faculty on campus, is promoting the incorporation of materials on women an issue of the presence of women faculty or of feminists or both? If the presence of women faculty were the critical issue, then one should expect to find a concluding recommendation emphasizing affirmative action on hiring women as the sine qua non for curricular change. But this is not the case.

Another study made by Judy M. Richardson in 1975 reported that Women's Studies programs showed significantly more support by faculty for most of the objectives studied than did Continuing Education programs.²² However, the higher the proportion of male faculty in a Women's Studies program, the less support will be for all stated objectives. Also, there exists little connection between institutional financial support and a program's support for "reconstructionist" goals.²³

In a survey research of twenty-three Women's Studies programs in 1979, Deutsch submits the following observations:

1. The development of Women's Studies programs on the campus is primarily a function of faculty demand and interest.
2. The total number of courses ranges from 6 to 68 with an average of 22 courses per program.
3. Total enrollment varies from 150 to 1,300 students in a single academic year, with a mean of 620 students per program.
4. Out of the 23 programs, 18 of these have independent annual budgets ranging from \$800 to \$65,000 with a mean of \$21,000 per program.

5. Budgets didn't seem to associate with enrollments but they are related to the number of courses taught in the program.²⁴

From the review of research studies discussed above, one finds a significant difference in the size, student body, type of colleges, and number of Women's Studies courses at the respondent's institutions. Nevertheless, a surprising consensus in their answer to some important questions does take place. For instance, factors that make it possible for Women's Studies courses to be established on their campus include such things as: (a) willingness of faculty to teach or to push for these courses, and (b) desire by administrators and faculty to attract students. These studies also point out a significant observation: the successful program is the one which follows more or less closely to the appropriate guidelines shown in the work of Ellen Boneparth in 1977:

1. The capacity as an interdisciplinary program to develop an overview of the role of women which merges the limited concerns of specialized fields into a general perspective.
2. The ability to explore the interstices of related fields to draw out the truths that lie between disciplines.
3. The capacity for liberating the faculty on women's studies from their own traditionalism in order to devise educational techniques which integrate learning and doing.²⁵

Impact of Women's Studies Programs on Traditional Disciplines and Professional Associations

Up to now my assessment of the impact of the Women's Studies program limits itself to the analysis of various program's activities and manifestations on the campus. This examination would remain incomplete if it neglects the consideration of Women's Studies influence beyond the narrow confines of the institution of higher learning. Thus, an extended dimension of the impact of Women's Studies programs on campus lies in the supportive response these studies can elicit from an array of professional women's groups or associations and in the shaping of traditional disciplines as they are being taught on the campuses. One could easily visualize the newly emerged Women's Studies program as an interdisciplinary field of knowledge which might affect

deeply the academic professional associations in several basic ways.

First, Women's Studies raise the consciousness among students and faculty alike about the status of women, and provides new knowledge about women's history, achievement and potential. This knowledge, in turn, might increase the number of women students entering and completing master's or doctoral programs, and greatly raise their goals in life. Second, the newly emerged Women's Studies programs foster a new interdisciplinary area of knowledge which might affect all other areas of knowledge. Third, Women's Studies and the related development of their distinctive form of organization could affect the institutional structure and foundation of many professional groups and associations, both within and without the academic environment.

An examination of the Women's Studies impact on traditional disciplines and professional associations leads automatically to the consideration of women's status, changes in the structure of knowledge and in the organizational form of the professions. One aspect of the impact rests with the formation, development and growth of professional women's groups. As Women's Studies began to appear on campuses at the end of the sixties, the growth of these studies depended on a close relationship between teachers, scholars, program organizers on campus and activists in the professions responsible for the development of commissions, caucuses, workshops and committees on women. These activities resulted in networks of women, and sometimes men, engaged in similar research or curricular efforts were soon developed. For instance, in early 1968, the Women's Caucus of the American Sociological Association (ASA) began to study the status of women in sociology, under the direction of Alice S. Rossi. Similarly, in 1969, the Modern Language Association (MLA) created a Commission on the Status of Women: the members of this commission began to teach what would be known as Women's Studies courses. By the mid-1970s, there were new organizations alongside or within almost every academic professional association, e.g., Sociologists for Women Society (SWS), Association for Women in Psychology (AWP), National Women's Studies Association (NWSA), Berkshire Women's History Conference, etc.

Another manifestation of the impact of Women's Studies programs on the professional associations is the formation of specific groups which focus particularly on the status of women and on issues of the women's studies. These groups concern solely with women's professional status. Others include curricular and research activities on Women's

Studies. Such women's organizations focus their attention on the numbers and positions of women in various professions and on effort to recruit more women in the professions and improve the status of women scholars. In humanities, social sciences and languages, several women's professional organizations concern themselves with the issues of the status of Women's Studies. Of recent origin is the Women's Caucus of the American Association for Higher Education (AAHE) which provides a comprehensive statement of purposes and goals of the Women's Studies. Among many goals are the following:

1. To increase the participation of women in higher education and in AAHE.
2. To assist women in making personal, professional linkages and in increasing their effectiveness in the higher education community.
3. To organize the constituency of the Women's Caucus into regional networks.

In addition to the varied activities and pursuits of several women's groups within and without the professional associations being described above, it is possible to identify a number of institutional shifts within professional associations. These changes are attributed mainly to the efforts of the women's groups. For instance, the American Psychological Association has adopted specific guidelines on nonsexist language for its professional journals. The American Sociological Association did institute the same procedure to its organization. Also as a result of the efforts of women's groups within the professions, several associations have begun to address themselves to the general issues of sexism in curriculum and research.

Scholarly research practices are also affected by Women's Studies. In 1975, for example, the American Psychological Association formally inquired about the interest of graduate faculty in the psychology of women, suggesting that the area might be properly on graduate school agendas. In other disciplines and in some professions, research agendas have been significantly altered. Feminist scholarship in many other areas has succeeded in developing a body of significant scholarship. Women in mathematics and sciences have turned to research both on the history of their disciplines--especially of women in them--and on educational as distinct from purely mathematical or theoretical problems. Feminist mathematicians have devoted research to the institutional factors responsible for certain problems,²⁶ as well as to a variety of means for changing them.²⁷

Conclusion and Caveat

What has preceded in these pages cannot be accepted as a complete analysis of the impact of Women's Studies on the campus and the traditional disciplines. It is simply an investigation of two major issues of the effect of the newly emerged disciplines in the institutions of higher learning. Nor is this article "the" analysis of Women's Studies' impact on the campus; it is only "an" analysis, and more can be done by others in the immediate future when a data base on Women's Studies as a necessary prelude to research design and activity can be made readily available.

It is always elegant to conclude an essay on applied research with a discussion of the effects of various policy options or recommendations. Unfortunately, such elegance must be foregone here. The reason is simple: it is not difficult to explain why we have had relatively little systematic study of the impact of Women's Studies on higher education. Just a little over a decade is too brief a period in educational history. Until very recently, few Women's Studies programs were well established enough to generate demonstrable impact.

This study examines the impact of Women's Studies programs. But impact automatically implies causality. And it is often too difficult to establish whether changes on a campus can be really attributed to the work of Women's Studies faculty and students, to the effects of the broader movement of Women's Liberation on and off campus, to recent changes in the climate of public opinion, and even to the stubborn material factors such as the new female majority in many undergraduate populations of the recent decade. Women's Studies is itself a product of such a combination of forces and can, in certain aspects, be seen as both an agent of change and a catalyst between the academic community and factors generating change. These remarks are posted here not to imply that all variables discussed in the previous two sections have to be tested in each equation to be true (the logic of statistics and the limits of human energy would both preclude it), but to insure that caution must be exercised in the process of interpreting the findings presented in this paper. After all, it is almost inconceivable to us to expect that Women's Studies impact would be straightforward and simple rather than complex and pervasive.

Now the argument is about the raison d'etre of Women's Studies programs. It is essential to help students learn about women's histories and accomplishments, to develop in

them a new sense of women's potential and to motivate them to achieve it. One tends to believe that women's studies in this case would help greatly the women's cause. To a certain degree, it has. However, on a purely economic and pragmatic level, one must look deep into the real and primary goal of any women's programs. A good program, I strongly believe, should not just teach about women but prepare them to change society so that complete sexual equality will finally prevail.²⁸ To help women become social change agents, Women's Studies programs must provide courses that give students a wider look at various disciplines and offer sound academic preparation for future responsibility and employability. One should recall the Black Studies Program which emerged from the midst of the revolutionary fervor of the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s. Experiences have shown that these programs alone do not help Black minorities to fight discrimination or to get better treatment. If they do succeed at top-level positions whether in public or private sectors, the reason must be found elsewhere.²⁹

Women's Studies is already edging toward legitimacy, and at least for the moment, enjoys visibility, academic sanction and public approbation. But the arbiters have not yet accepted it as a goal commensurate in importance to--if somewhat in conflict with--educational equity. Feminism as a political movement for social change still remains a significant issue for Women's Studies. The alleged political character of Women's Studies has been posed on occasions as a way of questioning its legitimacy. Programs have often found it necessary to respond to these charges that they are political entities, and factitious dichotomies have been posed between learning and doing, consciousness-raising and scholarship, political ideology and academic scholarship. One should remember that women's studies is definitely interested in change. And efforts to transform curriculum or other academic practices that deny equal opportunity to women are no more political than are efforts to maintain the traditional status quo.

As far as the future of Women's Studies on campus is concerned, we can only hypothesize about it, as will researchers who chart its course through the next few decades. In addition to enlarging the consciousness of women and the significance of gender to scholarly concerns, Women's Studies in the future will serve also to correct academe's misleading allegiance to objectivity and its dangerous tendency to confuse the frank admission of perspective with bias. I look forward, in a decade from now, to reviews in scholarly journals of new textbooks in Women's Studies that make such scholarship part of the standard fare of students enrolled in colleges and universities.

FOOTNOTES

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5. M. Elizabeth Tidball, "Women's Colleges and Women Achievers Revisited," Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, V:3 (Spring 1980), 504-517.
6. See Allana Elovson and Irene Cockcroft, The Reported Impact of Women's Studies Courses on Students' Lives (Washington, D.C.: Educational Resources Information Center, 1979), ERIC Document ED-160-944; also Dorothy S. Russell and Patricia DelRay, "Some Proof that Women's Studies Courses can Raise Consciousness," Phi Delta Kappan, June 1978, 716; R. Scott, A. Richards and M. Wade, "Women's Studies as Change Agents," Psychology of Women Quarterly, I:4 (1977), 377-379.
7. Lora H. Robinson, Women's Studies: Courses and Programs for Higher Education (Washington, D.C.: American Association for Higher Education, 1973), ERIC--Higher Education Research Report No. 1.
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13. Dewey B. Stuit, "Evaluation of Institutions and Programs," Review of Educational Research, 30 (October 1960), 371-384.
14. Herbert R. Kells, "Institutional Accreditation: New Forms of Self-Study," Educational Record (Spring 1972) 143-148.
15. Marcia Guttentag, et al., "Evaluating Women's Studies: A Decision-Theoretic Approach," Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, III (Summer 1978), 884-890; also Sheila Tobias, Lorelei Brush, et al., "Report to the Ford Foundation on Grant No. 735-0529," (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University, 1974).
16. Florence Howe, Seven Years Later: Women's Studies Programs in 1976, A Report to the National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, June 1977).
17. Florence Howe and Carol Ahlum, "Women's Studies and Social Change," in Alice S. Rossi and Ann Calderwood, ed., Academic Women on the Move (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1973), 393-423.
18. Donna J. Wood, "Women's Studies Programs in American Higher Education: A Report to Coordinators and Directors" (based on Ph.D. dissertation, 1979), Nashville,

Tennessee: Vanderbilt University, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, 1978.

19. See letter from Gayle G. Yates, Program Coordinator of the University of Minnesota Women's Studies Program to the dean, Lukerman, April 16, 1979.
20. Glenn I. DeBiasi and Carolyn Rhodes, "Attitudes of Students, Faculty, and Administrators Toward a University Women's Studies Program," (New York: Old Dominion University, 1979).
21. Lois Banner, et al., Princeton Report on Women in the College Curriculum (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University, 1977).
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Sandra Donaldson has completed several research projects on topics in and related to women's scholarship, and she has spearheaded efforts to create a minor field of study in Women's Studies at the University of North Dakota. She discusses these efforts in her essay.

DOING WOMEN STUDIES
WHERE THERE IS NO WOMEN STUDIES PROGRAM

Sandra Donaldson

Because the feminist perspective is by definition a critique of the status quo, feminist teachers and women studies courses encourage just that questioning, that inquisitiveness that humanists regard as the reason for a liberal education. While recognizing the importance of incorporating scholarship on women into traditional courses, particularly into required introductory courses, and acknowledging the danger of ghettoizing the study of women, still it is important to maintain and add to the curriculum when possible courses which encourage research on women's issues or from a woman's perspective both because there are students who seek out such courses, no matter what department, and because other students who are curious, adventurous, openminded, often discover such courses to their delight.

The faculty and the administration have recognized the importance of women studies both as a means of examining received ideas, as an almost wholly unexplored area of research, and as a way for them to understand their students better, and so such courses exist in the curriculum. Because investigation of issues concerning women specifically has been limited or non-existent until the last decade, however, the formal university structure has not been able to accommodate women studies officially, while still acknowledging its importance; this, combined with its interdisciplinary nature in an institution that is structured by disciplines, means that the student who wants to take women studies courses must take unconventional routes to find them or to legitimate a program of study. The curious, secure student may discover women studies possibilities at some point in her or his college career; I hope to make the discovery less a matter of chance.

Thus, my project for the Women Scholars Program is to put together a brochure to distribute at orientation and registration, explaining the various routes a student might follow to do women studies research while at the University

of North Dakota. What follows is text for the brochure.*

What is Women Studies?

Women studies is by nature an interdisciplinary course of study because legally, socially, culturally, economically, creatively, biologically women are regarded differently from men. Some differences are valid; some are at worst injurious, or more often, self-serving. The study of attitudes toward women is just beginning and it is being done in the most fundamental intellectual tradition--as a questioning of received ideas. Definitions of humanity are being scrutinized, career segregation is being challenged--no area of university study is going unexamined. This is what makes women studies such an important field--and an exciting one for students.

But it takes ingenuity and persistence to pursue women studies within the traditional university structure. Although formally there is no women studies department at the University of North Dakota, women studies courses are offered in the conventional academic fields. An alternative structure, the Honors Program as described below, allows you to design a major in women studies. More students, however, choose a traditional major with a career in mind and select women studies courses in their major, as electives, or as part of their requirements. This brochure explains how you can incorporate into your academic program a women studies focus to whatever extent you prefer: as a major, as a senior departmental honors project, or as an electives focus.

What Can Women Studies Do For You?

In Terms of Your University Education

By choosing women studies courses to satisfy university, college, and related fields requirements, you can give

*NOTE: Since the curriculum development project was completed, a Women Studies Program has been approved by the University Senate with the support of the President and the Vice President for Academic Affairs (5 November 1981); therefore, my project is in part obsolete. I offer the brochure text as a model for other universities and colleges and also because much of the information still pertains here. The current status of the new program is described in an addendum.

your academic program a coherence that is not usually attained with courses you take outside your major field's own requirements. For example, taking Sex Roles and Gender Differences in Human Resources Development (495, Special Topics) and Women and Minorities in the Media in the Journalism Department (391, Individual Project) when they are offered gives you both a theoretical and a practical view of the status of women in our society and might be used to satisfy general education or related fields requirements for many majors.

Choosing courses with a common denominator also allows you to see the differences among disciplines and fields and gives you a chance to compare teaching from a male perspective and from a female perspective on a social issue that affects the instructors personally. Among people who understand that women have been and are still treated differently from men, there are varied explanations of causes, of degrees of difference, and of solutions.

The reason students are required by the University, a college, and a department to take courses in several different departments is, according to the catalog, to "awaken their intellectual curiosity, develop their concern for social and historical perspective in relation to contemporary issues, and enlarge their understandings of themselves and the changing world."¹ Random selection of such courses may achieve this purpose, but having an organizing principle when you choose courses means you'll be able to see more subtle relationships among ideas available at a university.

Practical Applications after Graduation

A women studies focus is like a minor--it is an added area of expertise that complements your chosen major.

People trained in women studies are in demand to interpret anti-discrimination regulations and guidelines as writers and editors, as lawyers, in personnel and advertising departments of business and industry, as educators, in government. Like race bias, sex bias is prohibited in the activities of any organization having federal contracts (notably in Affirmative Action Guidelines and Equal Opportunity regulations). Too, it is good business to treat people fairly, so businesses want employees who are sensitive to customers' needs.

Women studies is especially good for preprofessional students. Law and medicine require no specific undergraduate

major, encouraging instead a well-rounded curriculum. For business and engineering students, a women studies focus has practical applications, to help in understanding these professions now in flux because women are entering them in increasing numbers. Students in education and health fields are finding employment in abused women's shelters, day care, rape crisis centers, for example.

The emerging awareness of women's issues means new fields of employment are opening, including women developing new businesses for themselves.

How To Do It

A women studies focus within a traditional academic discipline is a popular route. Selecting women studies courses among the college and university requirements in addition to related fields electives outside your major department will give your program coherence. This approach, however, demands a careful reading of the Time Schedule of Classes each semester, as well as contact with likely departments to discover which courses with standard titles will have a women studies focus in a particular semester.

In addition, courses titled Special Topics, Selected Readings In, Research In, or Special Problems In often address women's issues or examine the work of individual women. These courses are listed but not always adequately described in the Time Schedule; some departments publish course descriptions in advance of registration and the department secretary would be able to tell you the specific titles and content. This is the most popular way faculty offer women studies courses.

Another approach is to ask your advisor which faculty members have done research on women and women's issues and who would be likely to bring a feminist perspective to any of the courses they teach. This is also a way to make even introductory courses a logical part of your program, because such instructors will certainly include women and women's issues in surveys and general introductions to a field.

An introductory women studies course is not regularly offered but, with at least a semester's planning, may be arranged by the College of Arts and Sciences or through the Honors Program. A group of students may arrange a seminar or course (A&S 250) with one or more cooperating faculty members from the College of Arts and Sciences, or, similarly, an individual may arrange a tutorial or reading

program (A&S 290). Also, an Honors Program colloquium can be arranged by a group of students with two or more faculty members from any of the colleges (Honors 299--apply to the Honors Program).

If you are not able to fine tune your program all four years, it is possible to do intensive women studies research in your senior year through the Senior Honors System, a cooperative program involving the Honors Committee and your major department or in an interdisciplinary concentration. With the agreement of your committee and a 3.2 Grade Point Average, you can take six to fifteen credits of independent study, which may be interdepartmental, in your senior year. A report is required at the end of the first semester and a comprehensive exam at the end of the second. You might even be able to have "women studies" appear in the commencement program and on your transcript.

A Women Studies Major Where There Is No Department of Women Studies?

A women studies major can be arranged through the Honors Program. This is the most flexible route, allowing you to be interdisciplinary and to design your own course of study through tutorials, independent studies, and a thesis. Contact the Honors Program Coordinator, Dr. Richard Hampsten, at the Honors House or through the English Department.

Also interdisciplinary but limited to Arts and Sciences disciplines, the Humanities Program offers as a major in the College of Arts and Sciences a Related Fields Concentration in Humanities. In addition to the general University requirements and the Arts and Sciences language requirement, humanities majors complete eighteen hours in each of at least two humanities disciplines. Only the English department lists in the catalog a women studies course in the Humanities, Women Writers and Readers (357), which may be repeatable by petition since content and instructor often change. Two other catalog listed courses address women studies issues, The Family (Sociology 335) and The Sociology of Gender and Sex Roles (Sociology 340). Therefore, you must start the major requirements early in your career, taking women studies courses as they are offered, because departments usually offer only one or two such courses a semester.

When arranging programs, consider as faculty people who don't regularly teach, such as the coordinator of the

Office of Women's Programs, librarians, and administrators. They have academic qualifications and are encouraged to teach, sometimes by being given released time.

FOOTNOTES

1. Undergraduate Catalog, University of North Dakota, 1980-82, 24.

The recently-approved Women Studies Program features a four-credit interdisciplinary course, Arts & Sciences 225, called Introduction to the Study of Women. The new course addresses the issue of women's power in a patriarchal society, investigating questions in philosophy, psychology, law, medicine, the arts and literature, biology, religion, education, and architecture. Students cooperate on research teams and write individual reports on their findings. The course includes field trips, journal keeping, and guest speakers. A primary purpose of the course is to sharpen students' analytical and communication skills.

The Program is a coordination of courses offered across campus. Members of the Women Studies faculty, that is, people teaching courses that wholly or in significant part address issues of concern to women, are currently considering requirements for a minor. Although a Program has been approved, students still do not receive academic acknowledgment of minor studies and must use the alternative routes described above if they wish to major in Women Studies.